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OFFICERS
of the
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MAY, 1932-MAY, 1933

President

Otto L. Schmidt.....Chicago

Vice-Presidents

George A. Lawrence.....Galesburg
L. Y. Sherman.....Daytona Beach, Fla.
Richard Yates.....Springfield
Evarts Boutell Greene.....New York City
John McAuley Palmer.....Washington, D. C.
John H. Hauberg.....Rock Island
George W. Smith.....Carbondale

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J. A. James.....Evanston
Laurence M. Larson.....Urbana
Theodore Calvin Pease.....Urbana
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George C. Dixon.....Dixon
Lincoln H. Weldon.....Bloomington
Georgia L. Osborne.....Jacksonville
Thomas Rees.....Springfield
Cornelius J. Doyle.....Springfield
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Mark D. Batchelder.....Peoria
Mrs. Henry English.....Jacksonville
Paul M. Angle.....Springfield

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Paul M. Angle.....Springfield

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The Presidents of Local Historical Societies in Illinois.

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FOREWORD

This volume is the thirty-ninth of its kind to be issued since the organization of the Illinois State Historical Society. Like those which have preceded it, it contains the official proceedings of the last annual meeting, the papers read at that time, and one paper which comes under the heading, "Contributions to State History."

A word about the publication policy of the Society may not be out of place here. Manuscripts dealing with almost any phase of the State's history, letters and documentary material of historical value, bibliographies and reminiscences are solicited. Shorter papers and those of general interest will be printed in the quarterly Journal of the Society; longer contributions and bibliographical material will be used in this volume. The Society reserves the right to determine whether contributions shall be printed or not. It also disclaims responsibility for the views and opinions expressed by individual authors.

PAUL M. ANGLE, *Editor.*

PART I.

Official Proceedings—Annual Meeting

MAY 12-13, 1932

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

May 13, 1932

The annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society was held on May 13, 1932, in the Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library. Present were Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President, John H. Hauberg, Andrew Russel, James A. James, Theodore Calvin Pease, George W. Smith and Paul M. Angle, Acting Secretary-Treasurer.

Doctor Schmidt called the meeting to order. On motion of Professor James the reading of the minutes of the last meeting was dispensed with.

Doctor Schmidt then announced the retirement of Miss Georgia L. Osborne as Secretary-Treasurer of the Society. Miss Osborne had never completely recovered from the automobile accident which she had undergone, and by the first of the year it was apparent that she must have complete rest and quiet. Her resignation was submitted in January, to take effect March 1.

The Board of Trustees of the Library, Doctor Schmidt stated, had appointed Mr. Paul M. Angle Librarian in Miss Osborne's place. For a number of years Mr. Angle had been Secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield, and was known as a trained historian and writer. Pending formal action by the Society, Doctor Schmidt said that he had asked Mr. Angle to act as Secretary-Treasurer.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was then called for and read. (See page 9). Discussion of the report followed. In response to a question by Mr. Hauberg regarding the accessibility of manuscripts in the library, Mr. Angle stated that while any manuscript could be located quickly, the manuscript catalog was incomplete. To put this catalog in good working order would require the undivided time of one person for several months. That time was not available, but as much time as could be spared from other duties was being devoted to the manuscript collection.

Professor James asked whether official notice was being taken by the Society of deaths of members. The President answered that it had been customary for the Secretary to send a note of condolence to families and relatives, and that he himself often wrote also.

Doctor Schmidt announced the deaths of two members of the Board of Directors of the Society—Mr. Edward W. Payne and Dr. Charles H. Rammelkamp. It was directed that a suitable resolution on the death of Mr. Payne be prepared and presented to the Society for adoption; and Mr. Angle was directed to write to Mrs. Rammelkamp and convey to her the sympathy of the Board and the Society's appreciation of her husband's contribution to it.

Doctor Schmidt announced that the Secretary of State had placed at the disposal of the Library a fine basement room for newspaper storage and that the last General Assembly had appropriated $3,000 for shelving and furniture. Bids were to be asked in the near future, and it was likely that the shelving would be in place by autumn.

Professor James brought up the question of the Society's membership and proposed that steps be taken to increase it. Discussion followed. The opinion prevailed that a larger membership was desirable, but that satisfactory results could not be secured by a campaign for members. The natural increase brought about by recognition of the value of the Society's work was preferable to the more rapid but unstable growth which might come from organized effort.

Mr. Angle called attention to the compilation of territorial documents now in progress under the direction of the Secretary of State of the United States, and suggested that the Directors go on record in approval of this project. Whereupon the following resolution was adopted, and the Secretary directed to send a copy to the Hon. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State.

> WHEREAS, The Department of State, in undertaking the editing and publishing of documents relating to the territories out of which the states have been formed, has undertaken an historical project of outstanding importance, and
>
> WHEREAS, These documents, when published, will be a valuable addition to the history of the State of Illinois, be it
>
> RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Historical Society express to the honorable Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of

State, its gratification at the progress which has already been made and its hope that nothing will be permitted to interfere with the continued prosecution of the enterprise.

Doctor Schmidt brought up the question of a change in the format of the Journal of the Society. There had been some criticism of the Journal's size, and its cost was larger than need be. Mr. Angle presented several sample copies for inspection. After discussion it was moved, seconded and passed that the Journal be changed so as to bring it in line with what other societies were publishing, and that the details of size, type, etc., be left to the decision of a committee consisting of Professor Pease and Mr. Angle.

Professor James, acting on behalf of the President of the Chicago Historical Society, presented an invitation from that organization to the Illinois State Historical Society to hold its next annual meeting in Chicago. At that time the new building of the Chicago Historical Society would be open. A similar invitation, Professor James said, had been extended to the Mississippi Valley Historical Society and accepted by it. The Century of Progress Exposition, scheduled to open in June, would add to the attractions of the city. It was moved, seconded and passed that the invitation be accepted.

The meeting then adjourned.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
May 13, 1932

The annual business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library on the morning of May 13, 1932.

The meeting was called to order by Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Society. On the motion of Mr. Hauberg, the reading of the minutes of the last meeting was dispensed with. The report of the Acting Secretary-Treasurer (see page 9) was then read and accepted.

Doctor Schmidt stated that the committee on a memorial plaque of Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber was ready to report. The sculptor had finished a plaster cast, which many of Mrs. Weber's friends considered a very good likeness. The cast was put on display, some suggestions were offered, and the work of the committee approved.

The President announced the deaths of two members of the Board of Directors—Mr. E. W. Payne of Springfield and Dr. Charles H. Rammelkamp of Jacksonville. The President stated that Mr. Angle had been directed to convey the sympathy of the Society to Mrs. Rammelkamp, and that resolutions on the death of Mr. Payne had been prepared. Whereupon the following resolutions were read and adopted by the Society:

> WHEREAS, The death of Edward W. Payne has occurred since the last meeting of this Society, and
>
> WHEREAS, Mr. Payne was long active as a member and director of this organization, be it
>
> RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Historical Society, conscious of its own debt to him, and sensible also of the loss which the science of history has suffered in his passing, take this means of acknowledging his contribution to the work in which we are engaged; and, be it further
>
> RESOLVED, That the Society extend to the family of the deceased its most sincere sympathy; and be it still further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of Mr. Payne, spread upon the records of the Society and printed in its publication.

The President then announced the appointment of Mrs. I. G. Miller, Mrs. John H. Hauberg and the Rev. David F. Nelson as a nominating committee, and asked them to retire to consider nominations for the Board of Directors and officers of the Society. The nominating committee returned with the following nominations:

Officers

Otto L. Schmidt, President.....Chicago
George A. Lawrence, Vice-President.....Galesburg
L. Y. Sherman, Vice-President.....Daytona Beach, Fla.
Richard Yates, Vice-President.....Springfield
Evarts Boutell Greene, Vice-President.....New York, N. Y.
John McAuley Palmer, Vice-President.....Washington, D. C.
John H. Hauberg, Vice-President.....Rock Island
George W. Smith, Vice-President.....Carbondale
Paul M. Angle, Secretary-Treasurer.....Springfield

Directors

Andrew Russel.....Jacksonville
J. A. James.....Evanston
Laurence M. Larson.....Urbana
Theodore Calvin Pease.....Urbana
H. J. Patten.....Chicago
Logan Hay.....Springfield
George C. Dixon.....Dixon
Lincoln H. Weldon.....Bloomington
Georgia L. Osborne.....Jacksonville
Thomas Rees.....Springfield
Cornelius J. Doyle.....Springfield
Frederic Siedenberg.....Chicago
Mark D. Batchelder.....Peoria
Mrs. Henry English.....Jacksonville
Paul M. Angle.....Springfield

Mrs. Miller moved the adoption of the Committee's report, Mrs. Hauberg seconded the motion, and the motion was passed. The Secretary was then directed to cast the vote of the Society for the officers and directors named above.

On the motion of Mrs. Miller, seconded by the Rev. Mr. Nelson, the following resolution was adopted, and the Secretary was directed to send a copy to Miss Georgia L. Osborne.

> WHEREAS, Since the last meeting of this Society, ill health has forced the retirement of Georgia L. Osborne, its Secretary-Treasurer, and
>
> WHEREAS, Miss Osborne's connection with this Society, as member and officer, has extended for more than thirty years, and
>
> WHEREAS, It is largely due to her profound industry, never-failing interest, tireless energy and intelligent management that the Society has attained its present standing in the life of Illinois, be it
>
> RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Historical Society, in formal session, take this means of conveying to Georgia L. Osborne its sincere appreciation of her many and valuable services, together with the hope of all its members in her speedy recovery.

The meeting then adjourned.

REPORT OF THE ACTING SECRETARY-TREASURER

To the Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN:

In the absence of Miss Georgia L. Osborne I have undertaken to prepare the following report covering the activities of the Illinois State Historical Society from May 8, 1931 to May 12, 1932.

Due, in all probability, to the continuance of the depression, the membership of the Society is somewhat smaller than a year ago. We now have 28 life members, 9 honorary members and 884 annual members. These members receive all publications. Publications are also sent to more than 800 libraries throughout the United States and in Europe, and to approximately 200 newspapers.

On December 3, 1931, the Illinois Day meeting of the Society was held in Springfield. Before a large audience Professor Frederic L. Paxson of the University of Wisconsin delivered an excellent address entitled, "Washington and the Western Front." At the same time Mrs. David J. Peffers, State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, awarded the gold medal to Spencer Gore of Petersburg for the winning essay on the subject, "Early Physicians in My County."

During the year a number of important manuscripts and pamphlets have been acquired by purchase. Outstanding among them are the following:

1. Letter of Abraham Lincoln to Alexander H. Stephens, Washington, Feb. 20, 1865.
2. Letters of Stephen A. Douglas, April 3, 1855, and Feb. 19, 1860; and copies of his speeches of Oct. 23, 1850, and Dec. 9, 1857.
3. Letters of Gen. Henry W. Halleck to Governor Richard Yates, Feb. 12, and Feb. 13, 1862; to Gen. W. T. Sherman, Feb. 15, 1862; and to D. K. Green, Feb. 19, 1862.
4. Letters of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, to Gen. O. O. Howard, Nov. 24, 1863, and an earlier letter asking for an extension of leave, written from Bethel, Ohio, Sept. 2, 1848.

5. An extremely valuable letter, 33 pp. folio, from Gideon Welles to Henry Stanberry, Washington, April, 1868.
6. General Joseph Holt's opinion on the power of the President to order new trials before a military commission, February 4, 1865.
7. Letter of Salmon P. Chase to General Ambrose Burnside, Fortress Monroe, May 11, 1862.
8. Letter of William H. Herndon and J. E. Routh to Lincoln, Springfield, Nov. 24, 1864.
9. Letter of Joshua F. Speed and D. P. Henderson to Lincoln, Louisville, Sept. 28, 1864.
10. George Croghan's report to Sir William Johnson of a journey to pacify the Indians, June 16, 1767. 15 pages.
11. Letter of John Edgar to George Washington Campbell, Kaskaskia, Nov. 19, 1821.

In addition, a copy of Campbell's *A Glance at Illinois* was secured. Only one other copy is known to exist. Another important acquisition was a file of the Alton *Telegraph,* running from January 17, 1838 to June 27, 1840.

The Society is under a heavy obligation to many individuals and organizations for gifts of valuable material. Mrs. J. L. Jones of Washington, D. C., donated twenty-two volumes of the Lacon *Home Journal,* covering the period 1866 to 1895. The Decatur Newspapers, Inc., donated eighty-four bound volumes of the Decatur *Review,* extending from 1893 to 1920. Dr. Otto L. Schmidt presented a file of the *United States Telegraph,* a rare Jackson campaign paper, for three months of 1828. From Mrs. Ella Settlemire of Litchfield separate copies of the New York *Herald* and St. Louis *Republican* were received.

From the collection of the Rev. Charles Hayden, deceased, came a number of very valuable items. Of particular importance were early catalogs of Shurtleff College, Monticello Seminary and the Illinois Female College; a water-color picture of the prison barracks at Rock Island in 1864; a number of Illinois religious pamphlets; and scattered copies of Alton newspapers.

Several collections of Civil War material have been given to the Society. Mrs. E. A. Messer of Chicago presented papers pertaining to the 37th Regiment, Co. F, Illinois Volunteer Infantry, the property of her deceased husband, Captain Erwin F. Messer. Harry Pratt of Blackburn College donated thirty-eight Civil War

letters. Maxwell Blackburn Wilson presented the Society with the army chest which Ulysses S. Grant used while colonel of the 21st Illinois Volunteers. Pictures of Generals Grant and Pemberton were donated by Mrs. Mary A. Blanchard, New Orleans, La.

From Shelby M. Dorwin a number of unusual Lincoln items —funeral programs and sheet music—were received. Mr. Dorwin also gave the Society three Garfield memorial badges and the franking stamp used by Shelby M. Cullom. Sangamon County World War records were deposited with the Society by Logan Hay and Walter Hagler. The California State Library very generously turned over to the Society a commission signed by Gov. Joseph Duncan. Dr. John M. Conley donated a framed picture of Louis Palmer, father of Gov. John M. Palmer. From W. F. Woolard, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, came the minutes of the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1847 and 1849, and also a copy of the Congressional Directory for 1860. Sheldon W. Snively of Terre Haute, Indiana, presented the Society with two manuscripts of his father, Ethan Allen Snively, a copy of Peck's Gazetteer of Illinois and a gavel made of wood taken from the Lincoln home.

The Society is particularly indebted to the Hon. Benjamin S. DeBoice, Judge of the Probate Court of Sangamon County, who has deposited the original papers in the estate of Mary Todd Lincoln in the library. Photostatic copies were made to replace the originals in the court house. Dr. George Thomas Palmer has deposited in the library a series of letters from Lyman Trumbull to his grandfather, John M. Palmer.

During the past year the Society has lost twenty members by death. Their names follow:

Charles V. Barrett	Chicago	December 31, 1931
Ira B. Blackstock	Springfield	July 24, 1931
J. K. Brandenburg	Rock Island	September 15, 1930
George H. Campbell	Baltimore, Md.	June 11, 1931
Mrs. Charles C. Cummings	Chicago	February 26, 1931
Capt. J. True Dodge	Alton	June 11, 1931
Professor J. H. Freeman	Aurora	June 12, 1931
J. M. Garland	Springfield	June 29, 1931
Charles Gorham	Rockford	August 9, 1931

George Huskinson	Alton	November 5, 1931
Mrs. A. W. Kessberger	Springfield	May 23, 1931
Mrs. W. T. Layton	Springfield	June 12, 1931
James J. McComb	Chicago	January 11, 1932
Edward W. Payne	Springfield	February 18, 1932
C. H. Rammelkamp	Jacksonville	April 5, 1932
A. T. Strange	Hillsboro	February 3, 1932
Dr. W. E. Walsh	Morris	April 28, 1931
Harry B. Ward	DuQuoin	January, 1931
Harry T. Watts	Vincennes, Ind.	January 5, 1932
Emma F. Jones	Springfield	May 6, 1932

The report of the Genealogical Committee is presented herewith as a separate document.

Respectfully submitted,

PAUL M. ANGLE.

REPORT OF THE GENEALOGICAL COMMITTEE

LOCAL HISTORIES

ALABAMA

James, Robert Leslie, *Distinguished Men, Women and Families of Franklin County, Alabama.* (Privately printed, 1931.)

COLORADO

Hall, Frank, *History of the State of Colorado from 1858-1890.* (Chicago: Blakeley Printing Co., 1889-95.)

CONNECTICUT

Bowen, Clarence Winthrop, *History of Woodstock Connecticut; Genealogies of Woodstock Families.* Vol. IV. (Norwood, Mass.: Plimpton Press, 1932.)

Jacobus, Donald Lines, *History and Genealogies of Families of Old Fairfield.* Vol. II, Part 1; Vol. III, Revolutionary War Records. (Fairfield, Conn.: Eunice Dennie Burr Chapter, D. A. R.)

GEORGIA

Davidson, Grace Gillam, *Records of Georgia; Wilkes County.* (Macon, Ga.: J. W. Burke Co., 1932.)

Nottingham, Mrs. Carolyn (Walker) *History of Upson County, Georgia.* (Macon, Ga.: J. W. Burke and Co., 1930.)

ILLINOIS

Marriages in Greene County, Illinois, 1821-1870. (Copied by Lucy M. Ball, Jacksonville, Ill., 1932.)

LaSalle County Marriages on Record; Ottawa, Illinois, June, 1831-July, 1851. (Ottawa Chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution. Typed by Edith Glover Hills, 1932.)

INDIANA

Barce, Elmore, *History of Benton County, Indiana.* (Fowler, Ind.: Benton Review Shop, 1930.)

IOWA

Chapin, Lon F., *Early Days in Iowa.* (Pasadena, Cal.: Southwest Publishing Co., 1931.)

KENTUCKY

Burns, Anna Walker, *Vital statistics of the following counties.* (Copied from county records.)
Adair, Anderson, Ballard, Barren, Bath, Breathit, Carter, Clay, Estill, Fayette, Floyd, Franklin, Green, Harlan, Henry, Jessamine, Johnson, Knox, Laurel, Lawrence, Letcher, Lincoln, Mercer, Montgomery, Morgan, Oldham, Owen, Perry, Pike, Powell, Rockcastle, Scott, Shelby, Trimble, Woodford.

MAINE

Vital Records of Topsham, Maine, to the year 1892. (Concord, Rumford Press, Maine Historical Society, 1929.)

MASSACHUSETTS

Hinchman, Lydia, *Early Settlers of Nantucket; Their Associates and Descendants.* (Philadelphia, Ferris and Leach, 1901.)

OHIO

Upton, Harriet T., *History of the Western Reserve. Ohio.* (Chicago: Lewis, 1910.)

NEBRASKA

Daughters of the American Revolution. Nebraska, *Nebraska State History of the Daughters of the American Revolution.* (Lincoln: North, 1928.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Daughters of the American Revolution. New Hampshire, *New Hampshire State History of the Daughters of the American Revolution.* (Exeter: News Letter Press, 1930.)

NEW JERSEY

Craig, H. Stanley & Julius Way, *Cape May County Marriage Records.* (Merchantville: Craig, 1931.)

Craig, Stanley, *Gloucester County Marriage Records.* (Merchantville: Craig, 1931.)

Sherman, Andrew M., *Historic Morristown, New Jersey.* (Morristown: Howard, 1905.)

NEW YORK

Brayton, Isabella, comp. *Story of Hartford, New York. A History.* (Glen Falls, N. Y. Bullard, 1929.)

PENNSYLVANIA

Crumrine, Boyd, ed., *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania, 1882.* (Philadelphia: Everts, 1882.)

DeLong, Irwin Hoch, comp. *Pioneer Palatine Pilgrims.* (Lancaster: Art Printing Co., 1928.)

Linn, John Blair, *Annals of Buffalo Valley, Pennsylvania, 1775-1855.* (Harrisburg: Hart, 1877.)

Martin, John H., *Chester and its vicinity, Delaware County in Pennsylvania.* (Philadelphia; Pile, 1877.)

Stoudt, John Baer, *Liberty Bells of Pennsylvania.* (Philadelphia: Campbell, 1930.)

RHODE ISLAND

Chapin, Charles V., *Alphabetical Index of the Births, Marriages and Deaths, Recorded in Providence, 1921-1930.* (Providence: Rider, 1931.)

VIRGINIA

Nottingham, Stratton, *Wills and Administrations, Acomack County, Virginia.* (Onancock: Stratton Nottingham, 1931.)

Stewart, Robert Armistead, *Index to printed Virginia Genealogies.* (Richmond: Old Dominion Press, 1930.)

Torrence, Clayton, *Virginia Wills and Administrations, 1632-1800. An Index.* (Published through the courtesy of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America, n.d.)

WEST VIRGINIA

Census Returns of Lewis County (West) Virginia, for 1850. (Clarksburg, 1930.)

WISCONSIN

Gregory, J. G. *History of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.* 4 Vol. (Chicago: Clarke, 1931.)

FAMILY HISTORIES

BACKER

George H. Backer, *Biographical Sketch.* (New York: American Historical Society, 1931.)

BROWNELL

Rogers, Lowell Lincoln, *Ancestors and Descendants of Veranus Brownell, 1619-1930.* (Webster, N. Y., Anco Art Press, n.d.)

BULLEN

Holman, Mary Lovering, comp. *Ancestors and Descendants of Philip Bullen of Jersey, England, and Charleston, Massachusetts.* (Concord, N. H., Rumford Press, 1930.)

CARPENTER

Carpenter, Annie I. *Carpenter and Allied Families.* (New York: American Historical Society, 1930.)

CLEAVELAND

Cleveland, Horace Gillette, *An Account of the Lineage of General Moses Cleaveland of Canterbury, Connecticut.* (Cleveland, Williams, 1885.)

COOLIDGE

Coolidge, Emma Downing, *Descendants of John and Mary Coolidge of Watertown, Massachusetts.* (Boston: Potter, 1930.)

DANNER

Danner, Mrs. J. D. *History of Christian Carver and Frederick Danner and their Descendants.* (Willows, California. Privately printed, 1931.)

DAVISON

Davison, A. A. *Davison Family.* (Peoria: Franks, 1905.)

DAWES-GATES

Ferris, Mary Walton, *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines.* Vol. 2 only. (Chicago: Privately printed, 1931.)

EPPERSON

Epperson, Mrs. E. W. *Epperson and Allied Families.* (New York: American Historical Society, 1931.)

GRIFFIN

Griffin, Clarence, *Descendants of Chisholm Griffin.* (Spindale, N. C., Griffin, 1931.)

HASKINS

Green, Charles R. *Isaac Haskins Family History and Genealogy; Genealogy of Mrs. Mary Tuller Bacon.* (Olathe, Kansas. Register Publishing Co., 1911.)

HOPKINS

Hopkins, Walter Lee, *Hopkins of Virginia and Related Families.* (Richmond: Ferguson, 1931.)

HUIDEKOPER

Huidekoper, Frederic Louis, comp., *American Ancestry of F. L. Huidekoper and Reginald Shippen Huidekoper.* (Geneva, Switzerland. Kundug, 1931.)

JONES

Jones, W. P. *Four Boston Grandparents; Jones and Hill, Preble and Eveleth.* (Somerville, Mass.: Printed by author, 1920.)

LEFTWICH-TURNER

Hopkins, Walter L. *Leftwich-Turner Families of Virginia and their Connections.* (Richmond: Fergusson, 1931.)

MORGAN

Blatchley, Anna Stanley, comp., *Families of John Rittenhouse Morgan, John O. Stanley and Daniel W. Blatchley.* (Fort Scott, Kan.: Privately printed.)

MORSE

Caldwell, Lucy Smith, *Chapter in the Genealogy of the Morse Family.* (New York: Privately printed, 1932.)

PAUL

Paul, Edward Joy, *Ancestry of Katherine Choate Paul, now Mrs. William J. Young, Jr.* (Milwaukee: Burdick and Allen, 1914.)

PEERY

Peery, Lynn, *A Branch of the Peery Family Tree.* (Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1931.)

PRESTON

Preston, Charles Henry, *Descendants of Roger Preston of Ipswich and Salem Village.* (Salem Essex Institute, 1931.)

REYNOLDS

Reynolds' Family Association of America. *Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Annual Meetings.* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Eagle, 1932.)

TANNER

De Forest, L. Effingham, *Pedigree of Frederick Chauncey Tanner.* (Photostatic copy.)

TREADWAY

Treadway, Oswell G. *Edward Treadway and his Descendants, 1784-1859.* (Chicago: Chaplin-Shealy Co., 1931.)

WALKER

Griffin, Clarence, *Revolutionary Service of Colonel John Walker and Memoirs of Honorable Felix Walker.* (Forest City, N. C.: Forest City Courier, 1930.)

WALLACE

Wallace, James, *Wallace-Bruce and closely related families.* (Northfield, Minn.: Mohn Printing Company, 1930.)

WELCH

Weaver, Gustin Courson, *Welch and Allied Families.* (Cincinnati: Powell & White, 1932.)

GENERAL WORKS

Dictionary of American Biography. Vols. 7-8. (New York: Scribner, 1931.)

Leahy, Ethel C. *Who's Who on the Ohio River and its Tributaries.* (Cincinnati: Leahy, 1932.)

National Cyclopedia of American Biography. Vol. C. (New York: White, 1931.)

Virkus, F. A., *Compendium of American Genealogy.* (Chicago: Virkus, 1931.)

Virkus, F. A. ed. *Handbook of American Genealogy.* Chicago: (Institute of American Genealogy, 1932.)

PART II

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting

1932

GEORGE WASHINGTON: THE MAN

By Carl Russel Fish*

It is one of our American characteristics, derived from our frontier experiences, to exploit our resources and then to muck-rake the successful exploiters. Such exploitation is no more marked in the case of our forests, our animal life and our mines than it is in the case of those sturdy lives of men who have built the foundations of our national existence. At first their names are used to give authority and credence to the views and policies of all who can tag a moral to their shadow, and as memory loses the originals their images become distorted, stiff and plainly artificial. Then come those of opposite view and policies jealous of the support, often fictitious, which their enemies derive from these false demigods, and seek not to separate trappings from the truth but to destroy the god and his prophets in one cataclysm. Thus the very richness of our human heritage tends but to exalt the dust heap of our damaged reputations. Hero worship brings its inevitable recoil and the result is waste.

Lives are the facts from which must be constructed all social structures. The theories and philosophies which are the plans must be changed if they prove inconsistent with the material. None can be workable unless it be adapted to the carrying power and the tensile strength of those which must be incorporated. Any generalization as to politics, society or education falls if it proves to be contrary to the experience of any single individual. It is from this point of view that the lives of those strongly marked personalities concerning whom sufficient material exists to give us a clear knowledge of their lives derive their permanent value. Not only do they still live but it is possible to see them more clearly than we can the men and women of our own day whom we may know

*On July 11, 1932, less than two months after the delivery of this address, Professor Fish died at his home in Madison, Wisconsin.

intimately but who are inevitably incomplete. To be of value, however, they must be seen in the full light of truth, uncolored by passion or by the attempt to mold them to our purposes. It is not our function to sit in judgment on those who have completed their work in this world but to study them and the effect they produced and weave them into the web of experience by which mankind is slowly gaining a garment of knowledge to shield itself from the slings and arrows of chance.

It is unnecessary to review at length the career of George Washington; in its briefest form it stands out as remarkable. At sixteen he attracted the notice of able men as a promising lad. At nineteen he was given a responsible military post. At twenty-three he was international news with Paris and London wrangling over his actions. By forty he had made a comfortable fortune. Already he was a local leader in resistance against Great Britain and soon he was appointed as military head, and sole unifying figure, in the armed conflict. He begins to be unusual in that he was retained in this position for eight long years of hardship, disappointment and rivalry; for but a glance at the history of other wars shows commanders falling like the leaves in autumn. At the close of the Revolution he resisted urgent appeals to use his power and influence to put the state in shape and, definitely conscious of this difference from Cromwell and Caesar, he retired. He was called out once more to lead in civic reorganization. In the preparation for the Constitutional Convention he was the leading figure and in its work a vote study reveals his influence in deciding issues. His consent to receive the Presidency was probably the deciding factor in the closely balanced struggle over its adoption and as President his practice set traditions which are still living. Refusing a third election he finally retired to Mount Vernon.

This career was noteworthy because of its success. The acts of no other man so vitally affected the lives of us Americans of today. It is practically unique in that one man possessed those qualities of daring and initiative which made him a leader in revolt, those other qualities of order and execution that made the revolt a success and those still different qualities

of judgment, of tact, of political skill needed for reorganization after conflict. It stands alone in the conscious laying down of power when the task was done. It was this for which Washington himself wished to be remembered and it implies not only an ambition subordinated to other considerations but a confidence in his fellow men which but few feel who themselves have ruled.

It is the purpose of this discussion to deal with the man who made this career possible. No one could have created it had not circumstance made it possible, yet several million other Americans lived under the same conditions without bringing them to focus. There is no lack of information. Washington's mode of expression was the pen. One of the most industrious of known letter writers, he found time and reason to make and preserve copies of the letters he sent. The writings of his contemporaries and the public records are full of him from the time he was nineteen. Mr. Fitzpatrick, who has been for many years at the Congressional Library in charge of the Washington manuscripts and those of his contemporaries and who is now preparing what will probably be the definitive edition of his writings, asserts that in all the collection there is nothing which reflects discredit on the man; not that they reveal perfection or infallibility, but that they permit no stain. It is the reputation of this immaculateness crystallized in the popular expression "George Washington never told a lie" which has done most to devitalize his memory and to create in many a faint dislike. The tendency to resent superiority, particularly in morals, is very general as is that to distrust its evidences. Yet the historian must confirm in essence this popular impression and truth, in all its various manifestations, must be taken as one of the elements that made the man.

One conspicuous lack in the material doubtless renders still more difficult the task of those who endeavor to grasp Washington and to reveal him. His writing is action. In spite of the fluency of his pen and the amenity of his mature style, he never wrote literary compositions. His letters were to accomplish results and his diary records facts not thoughts. Some have assumed that he had none; that he received the news of

the Battle of Lexington without emotion. Such an assumption is more than gratuitous, it is contrary to other evidence, as that of his following actions. It renders approach to his mind more difficult but not impossible. It is a strain upon us of the twentieth century, who are taught that the chief end of man or child is self expression, to understand such reticence, but we must remember that children in the eighteenth century were taught to refrain from expression until they had found what was worthy to express. All those, too, who deal with the lives of Southerners know well that they were less given to the pouring out of the inner man than were New Englanders, bred for centuries to reveal their souls in their diaries. The Southern gentleman was less inhibited in his habits but more so in his expression, and he would have thought it no more decent to reveal his naked thought than his body. Among reticent comrades Washington was more than usually reticent as he was more careful of his manners. One must not guess his thoughts but one must not assume he did not have them.

In attempting an analysis of this important but partly shrouded figure we will take him up as a growth and first consider some of the equipment with which he started life. In the first place he inherited a notable physique. Familiar as this is to us it requires some synthesis of different records properly to visualize it, as no one source is quite adequate. Best known are the Stuart portraits, but Stuart did not get at him until his natural teeth had been replaced by a badly fitting artificial set which destroyed some of the force of his jaw as it did his digestion. Stuart, too, liked prettiness and neglected pox marks and angularities. Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that Stuart was a great artist and he did get some life and elevation in the countenance that were lost by painters more conscientious in copying details. Fortunately the bony structure of the head was taken by more accurate methods, Houdon, whose genius is just now receiving a belated acknowledgment, laying him out on the floor and applying a plaster cast to his face.

One finds a tall strong body, somewhat like that of a crew man, not always in health but never growing heavy. Its shape suggests that there may be some truth in those geneal-

ogies which derive the Washingtons from Norse ancestors. It was surmounted by a head distinctly noble with fine placid curves. The eyes, small and piercing, were at variance with the brows, and it is this contrast of eyes that might have been those of a fanatic with a living structure which one would associate with calm and deliberation which makes the whole notable; a physical foundation for a personality remarkable for a balance of contrasting if not contending forces.

Washington was born also to a position of significance. This was not, of course, wealth. While he did not start financially at the bottom he was the maker of his substantial fortune which placed him among the richer men of America. Nor was his discreet marriage the stepping stone to fortune. His wife's wealth was convenient in developing the Mount Vernon estate, but most of the estate property she brought to his control belonged to her two children and was turned over to them on their maturity. The position which came to him was that of gentleman, which mattered much in the eighteenth century. It mattered in little personal habits of comfort and cleanliness, and one finds the boy irked at the conditions of frontier life into which he was plunged by his surveying expeditions. In two ways it was more fundamental. His ancestors as far back as the records go, while not persons of great consequence, had always had dependents; servants, tenants, followers. Whether their responsibility was shirked or not, it had always existed. There was the habit and tradition of command, the sense of care for inferiors. Washington knew well its value and at the outset of the Revolution wished none but gentlemen to be officers. Failing this he exemplified the idea in his own treatment of his soldiers and it was this trained and ingrained watchful thought, precision and aptness at management of men which in part accounts for his holding his army at Valley Forge and the admiration, respect and confidence with which its members continued to regard him as long as they lived.

The second significance of his position was that the gentleman was expected to conform to a standard of conduct higher than that of other men. Such an idea was inculcated on the nurse's knee and was reinforced by all the forces mold-

ing youth. Little boys might do so and so, but not little gentlemen; some little gentlemen might do this but not little Washingtons. Such influence, strong at home, was continued with special power and charm in his young manhood by his close association with his Mount Vernon neighbors, the Fairfaxes, inheritors of one of the finest, gentlest, codes of England. Washington responded eagerly to such teaching. As a young boy he copied out one of the most elaborate of the many written codes of gentlemanly conduct then in circulation, which seem to have run back in most cases to Italian originals and which doubtless form the background of Lord Chesterfield's "Letters to His Son." Washington was distinctly a code man, a true progressive, building on the accomplishments of the past but not content with them. In this he contrasts sharply with Lincoln, who without such a base to build on was perforce a radical, seeking for himself the roots of conduct. Lincoln by circumstance and perhaps by nature ran to originality, Washington to breadth and balance.

A part of anyone's inheritance is a mind. Washington's was not only good but it had certain marked characteristics. Little attention has been given to it and eulogy follows eulogy in which it is not mentioned. Material for its study, however, exists in abundance, but in this paper its consideration will be deferred until the period is reached when it may be studied in action. Certain qualities of character, however, cannot be neglected as they are first caught in his earliest correspondence. One of these was a two-fold ambition. One was continuous and stable, fixed as were the similar ambitions of other men of his time. He aimed to live well, as a Virginia gentleman, well housed and served, with enough to boot for some lavishness in generosity. The second was for distinction among his Virginia neighbors, something individual which would give him a name and perhaps carry it on to posterity. The means by which he would thus achieve changed with the occasion. Earliest he would emulate his brother and shine under a British commission. Then he would toy with the West which was tempting so many, and one may gather from his land speculations that he thought of becoming a colony founder as did his contemporary, Colonel Henderson of North Carolina.

Akin to this ambition was his youthful vanity which took pains in clothes expensive and as gay as fashion would allow and pleasure in pounding up to the houses of his hosts on a good horse followed by a servant or two in elaborate livery. As strong a trait and more dangerous was his temper, which as it first appears has all the aspects of a bad one. What called it forth was some slight which his youthful egotism and native sensitiveness conceived, sometimes with justice, sometimes without. His response was the spontaneous flow of his pen in language powerful with Anglo-Saxon oaths. The vigor of his language, the persistency with which he pushed his points, the fearlessness with which he demanded a hearing and redress regardless of rank and age, all evince that this vain, ambitious youth, sensitive and pugnacious, did not lack force. By what we now have of material at this stage we might not know whither it would drive him but those who knew him believed him set of a long voyage.

When one studies the means by which this raw material was moulded to maturity it becomes at once plain that continuous success was not among them. One thing only seems to have gone always well and that was the Mount Vernon estate. Washington must have come near to being an ideal agriculturist by nature though it is certain he endeavored in every way to increase his expertness. Thus the desire for a good living was early realized and an ordered household set up which served as a secure base from which he operated for all his mature life. His hopes of distinction in the military forces of Great Britain, however, completely failed of realization. Whatever hopes he had, whether of fortune or of colonial leadership, from his western lands were as completely abortive, though they never passed out of his mind. Like most speculators in unoccupied American territory he made no money or reputation thereby. His first attempts in love were as marked failures, for the young ladies who attracted him did not reciprocate his feelings. In one case there was genuine tragedy, for what seems to have been the genuine love of his life was for the wife of his best friend. His final marriage seems to have been rather the result of good judgment than of emotion. Martha was pleasant, a good housekeeper and

hostess and the two grew to be very fond of each other. Probably no woman would have deeply influenced his life but a gayer mate chosen more by affinity and less by calculation might have stirred his mind to quicker ripost and repartee and added to his social charm.

Similar failure characterized his military exploits. His first expedition ended in his surrender at Fort Necessity, which was probably due to his lack of skill in disposing of his forces. For the first two years of the Revolution his record was far from brilliant. He won Boston but lost New York and Philadelphia. The one striking American success of these years was the capture of Burgoyne which was achieved far from the orbit of his activity. It is not surprising that many in Congress were moved to supersede him. At forty-five one could not call him a successful man and had he died then his name would have been written perhaps brightly like that of Joseph Warren but quite small. Two things, however, are noteworthy. Failure did not discourage or embitter him and what is more remarkable it did not sap the confidence of the increasing number who came to know him. The very discussion of his removal or the curtailment of his power after he had lost Philadelphia and Gates had won at Saratoga was so unpopular that it betook of the nature of a conspiracy. Of course other persons have built from failure to success but it is at least worth while to remember that Washington's career was so founded, for the glory of his ending has obscured to the public his early struggles and has created in many minds a feeling that born with a golden spoon in his mouth he was catapaulted by circumstance into the position he came to hold.

One impression that is derived from the most casual reading of the Washington letters is that of perpetual worry. Worry from early manhood to old age, worry in times of prosperity and of difficulty. One of the recent serious lives, made up very largely from quotations, gives a feeling of distinct rashness and superficiality or futility. The latter vanishes, however, as soon as one realizes that the subject of worry changed, and when still further study reveals that one question was solved and dismissed to be followed by another. Worry was indeed but the evidence of a thinking mind. Washington

was a hard, steady user of his mind. He possessed that capacity which is today urged as the chief purpose of education. He put no problem by but drove against it without rest until a road was cleared. The world pays attention much more readily to a quick mind than a working one and more easily admires a Hamilton than a Washington, but the power of intellectual force constantly and honestly applied yields its fruit. One does not suppose that the thoughts of Rodin's "Thinker" were scintillating but he was doing the spade work for the race. In ability to think hard Washington stands very high among men we know.

An early product of his thought was an ordered way of life that cleared the way for accomplishment. Guizot described him as "a spirit admirably free by reason of its exactitude rather than by its richness or flexibility." He often impressed newcomers and he still does H. G. Wells as lazy, because he was seldom hurried, but it was the result of a well-planned distribution of his time so long practised that it became automatic. Each morning he rode about his plantation, observing, directing, visioning changes. The efficiency of his supervision can be brought to the basis of statistics. After the Revolution he went in for sheep raising. At the time two pounds was a good clip for American sheep. By breeding and attentive care he raised it in his own flock to six pounds. Eight years of long absences while President brought the Mount Vernon record down to three. Two years of attention after retirement raised it to four. When he rode back to his mid-day meal he had set his business in order and had taken his exercise.

In the evening, when possible, he read. He read to increase that education at which he worked his lifetime. His method on taking up a new subject was to ask a trusted friend, as George Mason, the best book on the subject and to discover also one or two of the latest. Then slowly by candle light he read them, and re-read what he did not grasp, to think and to think again when he awoke in the morning. When he laid such books aside they were part of him, and in most cases he had added to what they contained. The slow persistence of his mind is admirably revealed by his letters. When a subject of public interest arose he would write to some friend

a long, rambling letter wherein his thoughts stumbled over each other and the topic. Soon would follow a letter to someone else, shorter and clearer. Often the process of digestion and clarification would continue for months and end with the essence crystallized into an epigram.

Another aspect of his mind is brought out by the constant use in his letters of similies and metaphors. These certainly were not used for the purpose of literary decorations. Affectation of literary style was not one of his vanities. When he prepared to retire in 1793 he asked Madison to draft his farewell message for him. When he did retire in 1797 he employed Hamilton for the same purpose. His literary modesty was indeed exaggerated and his "farewell address" would doubtless have been more influential had it smacked of his own wording, as it did of course represent his own views. When his pen ran to "as" and "like" it was because his mind had sensed a resemblance of situations and ran off to gain light from past experience for the existing problem. It was undoubtedly this natural tendency to coordination that was his most important mental trait and undoubtedly he possessed it in extraordinary degree. Experience is a good school but many of its pupils, as in other schools, fail to profit by its teachings. It was Washington's strength that he could bring the totality of his life to bear upon each part of it as it called for attention.

Both contemporaries and those of later times, however, have been more impressed with his character than with his mentality. Discarding the avalanches of adjectives with which this has been overlaid we may enquire concretely what became of that vanity and temper which were so exuberant in his youth. The answer may be plainly given but not the process. Everyone seems to have in youth qualities which are at least unsuited to a successful life with other men; their disposition is a common problem. Benjamin Franklin by sixteen had analyzed himself and selected certain traits for elimination. He copied and devised methods, he labored with himself and he won; he became as he purposed and the story of the conflict, to him the most interesting thing in his life, he told in his autobiography. Washington made no such

revelation and one does not even know whether his remoulding was conscious or unconscious; but at least the results are obvious. His qualities were not destroyed but transformed.

His vanity was purged of jealousy. It could not have been an easy thing for one with his slow mind, ready perhaps next morning with some bright reply, to sit in with such shining and easy intellects as those of Hamilton and Jefferson. Many about him were plainly his superiors at any particular moment and yet he not only exhibited no personal restlessness but drew always the best he could muster to combine for the public purposes. Particularly interesting is his treatment of the precocious and sensitive Hamilton, whose presumptions he forgave and whose condescensions he ignored. Nevertheless that vanity never grew less. It took the form that for George Washington there could be no standard but the best and no grade of approximation to it but that of perfection. Always he held others to a high standard but always he held himself to the highest, in points small and great, that he could conceive. The popular conception that he never told a lie is a rough appreciation of a dominant characteristic. He aimed to be immaculate; not only to exhibit a native quality of integrity but the polished art of honesty. Such an ideal, so contrary to the conception of the twentieth century, does not incite love but when achieved within reason cannot but compel admiration; and Washington would have infinitely preferred admiration to love.

His temper, too, did not die. It became less personal, drawn out by things that affected more than his sensitive pride. It became a moral indignation. It flared less frequently but it blazed in the same old language of his fathers. The author has seen a dinner party disturbed by keen passions resulting from Washington's outburst at General Charles Lee at the Battle of Monmouth, still kindling the descendants of admirers of that object of his wrath. An oath that reverberates a hundred and fifty years was no mean one, and it seems to enforce the fact that these qualities which we are analyzing not only constituted an interesting personality but that they were possessed in power. Temper controlled but not deadened was a weapon in Washington's armory and it

contributed to his success in life, both military and civil, that he was feared.

Coming to the man of action in the maturity of his powers one observes first the military commander. It is not necessary to assay his greatness as a general. At least he was successful and if there were serious defects in his management it brings into higher relief the qualities he did possess. In the first place one notices a bold originality in daring concepts. The Trenton-Princeton campaign was indeed so rash that its success was in part due to the fact that no one expected it. As daring was the attack on Stony Point led by "Mad" Anthony Wayne but every detail of which was worked out by the Commander-in-Chief. Both illustrate the full grasp of a situation and the power to command detail. Of a similar type was his proposal to surprise the British in Boston by an attack over the ice with his army disguised as a snow storm. That plan was never carried out. His advisers were against it and impetuous as Washington could be he listened to those about him and weighed their words. He was not pig-headed.

Typical of greater qualities was the final campaign that resulted in the capture of Yorktown. Here was a grand project involving continents and oceans, the interweaving of different arms and different forces. It required the cooperation of French and Americans, of armies and navies, a surprise movement calling for the transportation of his troops hundreds of miles without railroads, without bridges and almost without roads. The failure of one factor would render the whole futile. Should American boatmen fail at the Delaware and the head of the Chesapeake the French fleet might dominate that bay in vain. The whole has been condemned by strategists as of that type of operation not to be undertaken because of the necessity that so many cogs click into place with exactitude. But they did. All had been thought of. The confidence of those participating had been won and their fear of failing had been incited. The whole moved as by clockwork because a commander stood behind. It was a demonstration of Washington's completeness and of his magnitude.

More generally his major distinction, whether in arms or in peace, was the soundness of his judgments. One often

fails to realize how largely life is based on prophecy, yet it accounts for much of our conversation and determines a large proportion of our acts. From the contemporary records which men leave behind them, whether letters, diaries or speeches, one may easily reconstruct their batting averages. They vary not only from each other but according to the subjects with which they deal. John Quincy Adams, for instance, was remarkable for his sense of the far distant future but almost always guessed wrong as to what would happen tomorrow. It was in the high per cent of correct estimates of what would happen and his adaptation of his conduct to his guests that Washington exceeded all men with whom to my knowledge he has been compared. The relation of his mental habits and his code of human relationships to this just and level view of life is so plain that it must constitute the chief moral to be drawn from a study of his life.

In estimating both his judgments and his life, however, one must constantly keep in mind the fact that he was an eighteenth century man. Certain of his principles seem undoubtedly of universal applicability but more of his acts were reactions to the conditions that surrounded him. His code of manners and morals was somewhat higher than that of his followers and it was better lived up to, but it was fundamentally that of his day. One would say superficially that in some ways mankind has both gained and lost since he died, but it is by the standards of his own time and those that he himself set up that he must be judged; and yet some writers have estimated him as if he had lived under the eighteenth amendment. One result of the passage of time is that some of his most valuable findings have become platitudes and now make but pedestrian reading. The greater misunderstanding has come from the attempt to transplant his reactions to the moving world of politics into the twentieth century. No man may presume to say what he would have done under this or another combination of modern circumstances.

In general his views are supposed to have been conservative, anti-democratic and Hamiltonian—the conjunction being that of his commentators. In fact he was no partizan and until the last year or two of his Presidency the influence of

no man was dominating with him. In foreign affairs he was more nearly in agreement with Jefferson than Hamilton but his policy, which was that pursued, was his own. He did approve those financial plans of Hamilton which have since become national, but in the politics of today his own plan of government-owned Indian trading houses and his proposal that the government retain mineral rights in land sold would not be regarded as indicative of subservience to the financial interests. His democracy was of course that of his time and among the ideas of his time he favored those of a strong central government which are today upheld by the more democratic wing. This is to make him seem more democratic than he was as it was democracy that then feared power. The essential point is that he had confidence in the people as is evinced by his twice resigning and voluntarily confiding the power to their hands. This is the supreme test, his unique contribution, and it definitely aligns him with not only the supporters of the people's rights but the believer in the people's capacity for self-government.

His judgments of men were as sound as those on problems, and equally impressed his contemporaries and later generations. The classic instance illustrating his conquest of his vanity and his disregard of the inconveniences of differing ideas and temperaments clashing about the counsel table, is his inclusion of both Jefferson and Hamilton in his cabinet. Their choice was the result of his knowledge of their abilities and personal acquaintance. In some cases we can observe the beginnings of his selections. When he made his first camp inspections after arriving at Cambridge to take command, he marked the order and cleanliness of the quarters of certain Rhode Island troops. Enquiring as to who were responsible he met for the first time Nathaniel Greene, whose military genius he tested by the most intimate acquaintance and to whom he finally entrusted the second command in the American army. On reaching New York to defend it against the expected British attack he reviewed the local troops. One company he noted as particularly well-drilled and alert. Again enquiring as to who had made them so, he met Alexander Hamilton whom he placed on his staff. During the war he

selected about thirty-five young men to serve, five or six at a time, as aides. Of these practically all were successful in after-life and eight, still rather young for the task, were members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. It is plain that he not only had talent for selection but power to fire those with whom he associated with the purposes dear to his heart.

It is this influence that he exerted that presents the most difficult problem of his career. He was no orator; he could not send forth winged words either by speech or pen; he was not a politician as was Samuel Adams. These lacks were not complemented by an engaging personality. He was no conversationalist. Occasionally he told a story but not as a raconteur. He was not even a first class listener, for while he seems generally to have followed what was said he often appeared abstracted. What then were the antennae that connected him with those about him and made them, as they conspicuously were, followers?

His presence must have been effective with his army and the general public when they saw him, for he undoubtedly looked and carried himself as a leader. The accumulative prestige of his decisions, too, built up a foundation of public confidence. These things alone, however, would not account for the devotion of the youth who, frequently bored, sat at his table.

One quality had undoubted magnetism and that was his sense of public service, his patriotism. Undoubtedly this was a development and it is not necessary as an explanation of his conduct in the Revolution. He favored armed resistance to Great Britain. He wished to lead it. He sought the command of the army and he enjoyed the fight. His conduct then might be held to be based upon that ambition which had urged him from early youth. With peace, however, ambition was satisfied; completely so. He had won his niche of fame and had made it particularly his own. He was entirely conscious of the fact that one part rested in his winning of a war but that the distinction came from his retirement. He admired and he made a cult of Cincinnatus who saved and governed Rome and returned to his plow. That was the picture of George Washington which he wished to leave. It was already

painted and fulfilled, it remained for him but to enjoy it and leave it unmarred.

It was in this state of mind that he met the demand, the justice of which he realized, that he return to set the national house in order. With him it was a possibility, without him it would become possible only after years of turmoil; but how many were the chances of failure and of opprobrium! In fact would not his move to return give the lie to his professed retirement, make of it but a bid for further popular favors? Anxiously he wrote about to men of judgment, deeply he pondered. It was sacrifice to leave his loved and perfected Mount Vernon, it was rash to risk that fame which exactly met his desires. He accepted his selection for the Convention. When the adoption of the just-framed constitution was held to rest upon his willingness to become President he yielded again, firmly intending to retire after one term. When that term ended with all the national problems just short of settlement he yielded again. None of this political service was pleasing to him and the whole was onerous from the very fact that if he died in office there would be nothing but faith, no overt act, to differentiate him from Caesar and Cromwell. The greatest contribution of luck to his career was that his health, already impaired, carried him safely through once more to the haven of private life. The efforts of the satisfied have in them an element of altruism and the evidences of this spirit were among the ties that bound men to him.

It must not be forgotten that while Washington was not socially a contributor, he liked society, to be among people. He was no misanthrope. Once he noted in his diary that the day was the first in eighteen months without company at Mount Vernon. That mansion was always overflowing with hospitality and even when the family was away he left orders that those who passed should be entertained. Of course in such lavish hospitality there might be, and doubtless was, an element of pride and display, but the human instinct for association was nevertheless present. He sought people. He and Martha attended balls and races. He went to church and attended vestries. He interested himself in the society of the Cincinnati and he was a Mason. In all such organizations

he played his part. Organizations to join were rare in his day but he joined most of them. Definitely he had social instincts and in such associations the modest member who does not aim to be the life of the party has his place and wins gratitude. In time, of course, his mere presence became a compliment but all his character-building period was passed also with men and women and, in spite of his childlessness, his house was filled with children and young men and maidens.

His personal contacts, however, were best in the open. There he ceased to be a lay figure and was an active, vying member of the crowd. He was conspicuously an open air man. It may be safely estimated that from boyhood to death he spent a tenth of his time on horse back. Frequently he was all day or all night in the saddle. During the war he habitually spent a good portion of the morning with his aides and the horses, training, jumping, racing, man to man as equals where age and dignity did not count but where his evident skill and knowledge stood on its own basis. When near the enemy he did much of the scouting accompanied by an aide or two and on a memorable morning he sent those with him ahead to breakfast with the charming Mrs. Arnold while he finished his inspection alone.

In these personal contacts he exhibited the manly qualities of generosity and courage. His wealth was that of the landed gentleman and his command of cash did not allow the munificent gifts of later times but his purse was open. He educated young men in numbers, kinfolk and others. Disdaining pay for his own services he insisted on proper compensation from the government for others. In his youth he had had two horses shot under him in battle and his coat tail riddled with bullets. As Commander-in-Chief, impatient at troops who would not stand, he rode to rally them almost into the enemies lines and was drawn back by his companions. One does not connect such risks with his care and balance and there can be little doubt that battle drowned sense of self and fired him to disregard of all personal consequences. These are qualities which make a strong personal appeal and establish a foundation of regard. In the case of Washington they were reinforced by careful tact. His punctiliousness in human re-

lations was the result of thought and of experience; it was founded on his conception of the duty of a gentleman. He was scrupulous to fit his own actions to his position. He used his titles when he was in commission, he dropped them when he was not. He invited his American friends to visit his "seat at Mount Vernon," French noblemen to his "cottage on the Potomac." He respected the position of others and also their natures. When Hamilton was angered at a proper reprimand, he realized his sensitiveness, saw to it that his opportunities of future usefulness were not affected and opened the way for reassociation. Returning from the Constitutional Convention to Virginia where Patrick Henry would have so much to say of its adoption, he presented the matter to him with no argument but with a flattering comment upon his experience and judgment. He impressed Count Rochambeau with the amenity of his style. Any reading of his correspondence reveals at once that here was no cold formality but a measured adjustment of his mode to the characters he addressed. A minor incident reflects that justice which gave men who worked with him confidence that he would use them rightly. A favorite aide was captured by the British. Circumstances were such that others came before him in exchange and Washington would not hasten it by special dispensation. When release came the war was nearly over and opportunities for distinction had passed. Recognizing that advancement would certainly have come and that the prison term also represented service Washington recommended him for the position he would have obtained.

One more personal quality was very evident to those in close contact with him. There is a record of a Greek athlete at Olympia who won his race and dropped dead from his last triumphant stride. That of course is bad athletics but there is something that compels admiration in the man who gives all he has and who possesses the power to put his whole vital force into his task. The completeness and the earnestness of Washington's devotion to what was in hand was plain. It involves to a degree the question of his religion. That he believed in organized religion is evident from his actions. That he believed in God one must accept or must reject the whole

salient quality of his honesty. What else he believed or did not believe he regarded as his own business. On what we know of his habits, his training and his avowed beliefs, however, the stories of his use of prayer take on a high probability. In whatever form he made them those who saw him at Valley Forge received an impression of that profound meditation in which a man communes with whatever is best in himself and his thought. Such concentrated effort to bring the whole essence of one's being to the use of the moment, pursued from crisis to crisis, is exacting upon the human spirit. There is evidence that Washington wore himself out in his tasks. Early in his second term as President there is a stiffening of the mental processes. Then he gives up dancing, then he becomes a partizan, then he leans on Hamilton, and decidedly, amid the climactic success of all he had aimed at, he was not happy. His resilience had gone and his reactions to events were those of melancholy rather than of the happy warrior. One cannot wish that he had died, for his example of retirement is too valuable, but one must be careful not to read Washington from his last five years.

Comparisons of great men are odious. The United States is fortunate in having Washington and Lincoln, not Washington or Lincoln. Yet I have encountered in this bicentennial celebration no little jealousy in behalf of the latter. Of course such a feeling is trivial and inexcusable. The exaltation of the one should never pull down the other, nor the different values of the other men and women who have variously served to make American life. They were individuals with individual qualities and tasks. Yet one consideration is worthy of comment. It is probable that Lincoln has forever displaced Washington as first in the hearts of his countrymen. The reasons for this, however, are in my belief frequently misstated. It arises from no change in the qualities of the earlier but in the inherent qualities of the later hero. It is not, as so many say, because Lincoln is nearer to us. The facts indeed are almost completely the reverse. Lincoln lived under conditions that can never be repeated. He was the product of the American frontier that barely affected the general life of America in Washington's day and has passed away never to return.

Washington lived under the conditions of an established civilization, as we live. A part of the uncritical adoration of Lincoln, as of other prophets, rests upon the fact that we can never be asked to repeat their experiences. Eternal as were Lincoln's fundamental qualities, the accidents and incidents of his career may be admired with vicarious appreciation. The qualities of Washington are those that compel success in any established order of life. The obstacle is only their inconvenience and so he is forever the model boy next door whom we are urged to emulate and for whom, therefore, affection is difficult and whose conduct we regard with suspicion. He represents an attainable ideal and therefore an unpopular one.

Few great men could, indeed, return so unperturbed as he to middle-aged utility in our modern era. Lincoln would look in vain for many of the problems that concerned him and would have to think through others without the basis of a lifetime of experience with them. Franklin would be so concerned with the scientific and mechanical wonders of modern life that his insatiable curiosity would take too long for its satisfaction. Washington would regard the telephone as a convenience and hire a secretary to use it for him. He would enter an automobile if the chauffeur impressed him as competent. Doubtless while recognizing the value of its speed he would regret the exercise of horesback and try to compensate for it by golf. With good instruction he would in eighteen months go round in 90 and make it the basis of his contacts with men. Wherever he was among civilized men he would be the head of the table, for he possessed qualities which eternally make the leader. Conforming to the accidents of the life of his day he would soon be in a position to concentrate his powers upon problems as they arose, each becoming the foundation stone for the next. High, but not unapproachable, he felt the responsibility of his attitude and gave himself up to the service of those who recognized him.

HISTORIC LANDMARKS ALONG THE HIGHWAYS OF ILLINOIS

George Thomas Palmer

An eastern publisher, whose wife has written much of Abraham Lincoln and his family, once said that Illinois has a story as rich in history and romance as that of any of her sister States; but he added that it would be difficult to induce the citizens of Massachusetts or Virginia to accept his assertion. Virginia and Massachusetts have capitalized their historic places. They have placarded and labeled their landmarks so that the tourist who runs may read, while in Illinois, the man who goes out to find historic scenes must know exactly what he seeks; must travel an uncharted sea and must expect little assistance from the people of the communities he visits.

The motorist, uninterested in history, who drives the highways of Virginia, learns much of the story as he travels along and comes away impressed that the State is singularly rich in legend and tradition. The same motorist may drive hundreds of miles in Illinois and will finish his journey convinced that the State is historically and romantically barren.

And yet, what the eastern publisher says is probably true. Illinois has a more than respectable antiquity, with a white settlement dating back to within about fifty years of the time that the pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, and that chapter appears especially romantic when we recall that Marquette and Joliet and LaSalle and Tonty and others plunged headlong into the wilderness in the very center of the unexplored continent and there established settlements which exist to this day. It is a romantic chapter, this story of the French occupation, with the spectacular enterprises of John Law and the expansion and bursting of the "Mississippi Bubble" and, with it, the introduction of slavery into the

Illinois country, and the French section along the Mississippi is still rich for historic exploration.

But even before the advent of the French, there had been pre-historic peoples who had left mounds and ruins and earth works, some of which, the archæologists assure us, bespeak a population greater than had gathered anywhere else on the continent north of Mexico. Among the Indians, who were here when our forefathers came, and who remained in possession of a great part of the State until a hundred years ago, there were chiefs of more than local fame,—Tecumseh, Pontiac, Shabonee, Sauganash and Blackhawk. There are scenes of Indian battles and massacres and primitive forts dotting the State and places where engagements occurred during the French and Indian Wars.

Passing twice across the State, from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia and again from Cahokia to Vincennes, is the path of George Rogers Clark, who gave the great West to the nation at the end of the Revolution and, up near Rock Island, is the site of the westernmost engagement of that war. There are localities which have existed under four flags; the French, the British, the Spanish and that of the new American Republic. There are spots which saw bloodshed in the War of 1812 and there were other wars, romantic if not important, in 1827 and 1832.

And there are landmarks in the fight against slavery in 1824, which continued until the Civil War, with the underground railway, the growth of the abolition movement, the murder of Lovejoy and many other stirring chapters. And quite as important, the development of education and religion, the struggling pioneer colleges, the teachers and the preachers and the circuit riders. The State was dotted with communal settlements each with its absorbing story,—the Integral Phalanx and Fourier's Phalanx, the Jensenites, the Icarians and the Mormons, whose story would make an historical volume in itself.

Then comes the dramatic story of the canals and railroads, the Illinois and Michigan Canal, foretold by LaSalle and Marquette, of other canals that were never realized, the persistent dreams of a waterway to the sea which have never ended in

250 years; the drama of the early railroads; the speculative period of internal improvements and the frenzied finance of the early state banks.

And then the figure of Lincoln, whom men of serious mind have reverently declared the greatest human figure since Jesus Christ, whose life was spent largely within Illinois and whose path we cross on almost every highway, and Douglas, whose greatness increases with the passing of the years,—the story and the landmarks of the great debates. And then the Civil War, with the imposing figure of Grant and the impressive figures of a score of military leaders, and with Cairo, down between the slave States of Missouri and Kentucky, an important military base.

Over the most extensive system of hard roads in the world, many of them mere concrete coatings of historic highways, hundreds of thousands of tourists pass, rushing through important, but unmarked communities, entirely unconscious of their significance or even of their existence. To most of them there is no reason for stopping at Cahokia, or Rock Spring, or Carthage, or New Salem, or East Alton, or Creve Coeur; while thousands have never heard of Granville, or Nauvoo, or Bishop Hill, or Metropolis, or Fort Chartres, or Palestine. To the great majority, Bloomington, Jacksonville, Decatur, Jonesboro, Belleville, Peoria, Galesburg, Joliet and Freeport, are merely modern cities and there is no notion of their very interesting history, and, visiting any of these places, there is little likelihood that the visitor would learn anything of their local traditions. It is astounding how little the average citizen knows of the history of his own community.

When I was in Europe a few years ago, I spent several days about Paris in hunting out the origins of the Illinois story. As I stood before the equestrian statue of LaFayette in the Place du Carrousal, a monument purchased with the pennies of American school children, I thought of LaFayette, not in the French or the American Revolutions, but as he danced at the ball at the home of William Morrison, at Kaskaskia, or as he landed from the Ohio River packet to attend the grand collation at the Rawlings House at Shawneetown. In the Place Vendome, I stood before the house of John Law,

the canny Scotch financier, who attempted to re-establish the war-depleted fortunes of France under the Duke of Orleans, and I thought of the "Mississippi Bubble" and my mind travelled back to familiar spots in Illinois, to Fort Chartres and Prairie du Rocher and along Silver Creek, in Madison County, and to the lead mines about Galena and Apple River.

And as I passed the lodgings of Thomas Jefferson, just off the boulevards, I thought of Jefferson, neither here in France nor on his Virginia estate, but rather as sending out Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the great western empire across the Mississippi which Jefferson had purchased from France. And in my recollection, I could see the sluggish Wood River, down near Alton, on the banks of which Lewis and Clark spent the winter of 1803-1804 and I could see the little Milton cemetery where the explorers had left some of their men, victims of bilious fever.

At Versailles, as I wandered through the Palace of Louis XIV, my thoughts went back to a simple monument marking Fort Creve Coeur, above the Illinois River, opposite Peoria, and I thought of LaSalle, who had gone out to find new wealth in a new world that the glories of Versailles might continue. And, farther up the Illinois, in my mind's eye, I could see Starved Rock on which Tonty had established Fort St. Louis and, across the river, near the village of Utica, the site of the old Indian village of the Kaskaskias, where Pere Marquette, in 1675, established the first French mission in Illinois. And my mind wandered to Mud Lake where the upper reaches of the Chicago River and a branch of the Des Plaines come together, where Chicago is today, and I thought of Marquette's last pilgrimage, up the Illinois and up the Kankakee, then down the St. Joseph, to die on the shores of Lake Michigan.

A little later that summer, when I followed the Pickwick Club through England, I thought often of Charles Dickens in Illinois in 1842, of his visit to Cairo and of the reception given for him at the Mansion House, at Belleville, where he became greatly interested in John Mason Peck, and I remembered the Mermaid Tavern, at Lebanon, which is still standing, where Dickens was entertained when he went out to see for the first time a typical American prairie. When I was in Hartsford-

shire I endeavored to locate the home of George Flower, who, in company with Morris Birkbeck, established the colony for English artisans at Albion, in Edwards County.

It was during that summer in Europe that I determined to travel the highways of Illinois, in the spirit of the tourist abroad; but, before it was possible for me to undertake this historic pilgrimage, it was necessary for me to prepare my own Baedeker and, in my travels, I frequently found it impossible to locate spots of real historic significance. Inquiry of local citizens usually disclosed complete ignorance of historic landmarks or brought forth statements and stories astounding in their inaccuracy. I came frequently upon the footprints of Ferdinand De Soto, who I am satisfied was never in Illinois, and I was offered the opportunity to inspect three rooms in which General LaFayette had slept, when he was here in 1825, although I am sure that LaFayette never spent a night on Illinois soil.

What I have to offer you today is a very brief outline of a motor tour of the State, taken for the purpose of locating most of the historic landmarks and covering a distance of something over 1500 miles.

The journey was begun at Chicago, very properly at the Michigan Boulevard bridge over the Chicago River. I know of no one spot where so much of history and romance may be observed, if one has the imagination to see beneath the surface of the great city with which one is surrounded. Below us flows the Chicago River, described by Marquette and LaSalle, now flowing westward toward the Des Plaines and the old portage at Mud Lake, which has occupied an important place in the story of Illinois for over two hundred and fifty years. Within a stone's throw was the Chicago of early days, Fort Dearborn and the scene of the massacre, and within a few blocks the scene of the development of the city, but even a suggestion of the history which comes to mind, as one stands on that bridge, is impossible at this time.

The tour of Illinois may properly begin by following what is known as Route 1 of the Illinois hard road system, extending historically from Fort Dearborn to Fort Massac, where George Rogers Clark first unfurled the American flag on

Illinois soil. Our road would take us out State Street, so-called because it was the old state road, and then on, to Vincennes Avenue, which was the northern end of the old road from Fort Vincennes. For a distance of 150 miles, this old road was known as Hubbard's Trace, named for the early trader for Astor's American Fur Company, and over it, in 1827, Gurdon Hubbard rode on horseback, to bring the Vermilion rangers from down about Danville, to the relief of Fort Dearborn during the Winnebago War,—an adventure which causes the midnight ride of Paul Revere to appear a very tame canter.

We will follow out this road,—by no means the most important historically in the State,—in some detail, to see what the average Illinois highway has to offer to the motorist reasonably informed in history and what it might offer to all tourists if correctly marked by students of history as are the roads of Virginia.

Driving south through Blue Island, we cross the Calumet River, used by French traders and at whose mouth was proposed the great lake shipping port, with which were associated the names of Douglas and Jefferson Davis. Then on to Momence and to the Kankakee, which was employed by the early French as one of the great portages from Canada to the Illinois country. LaSalle and Tonty travelled this way to Fort Creve Coeur, and up this stream came Marquette on his last journey from Illinois. It is still a French section and has many traditions of the French and of such pioneers as Hubbard and John Kinzie.

A few miles further, we come to the Iroquois,—the Pinkamind of the Indians,—and here we find the story of the Indian girl, Watch-e-kee,—by whose efforts the peace-loving Illinois Indians defeated and drove out the warlike Iroquois. Gurdon Hubbard married a Watch-e-kee and her name is preserved in the town of Watseka, the county-seat of Iroquois County, through which we pass.

Our road takes us through rough and wooded country along one of the three forks of the Vermilion, which we find united in the Big Vermilion when we reach Danville. On one of these three branches, a little west, on Route 10, were located the Vermilion salines, very important to the early settlers and

once held under the flag of Spain when the Spaniards came this way from their capital at St. Louis. And these salines were worked for years by the Piankashaw Indians, who built the fort at Vincennes for Sieur de Vincennes and who were won over to the American republic by George Rogers Clark. President Washington issued a proclamation urging friendship for these Indians who had been so helpful to the white settlers.

At Danville, named for Dan Beckwith, we come to the Lincoln country and here we find, if we know where to look, the site of Gilbert's Tavern and of McCormick's Tavern, where Lincoln and David Davis and others foregathered when they travelled the old eighth judicial circuit. We find the site of the office of Lincoln and his local partner, Ward Lamon, and the place where Lincoln, with a lath, showed the visiting lawyers the skill he had acquired with a broadsword in preparing for the duel with Shields. And down at the Wabash Railway station,— the extension east of the Northern Cross, the first railway to operate in Illinois,—you may recall that here Lincoln stopped and spoke to the crowd, when on his way to Washington to be inaugurated President. And here we may find the site of the fur trading post of Gurdon Hubbard and may hear the gossip of politics through a hundred years, down to the day of the picturesque old war horse, Uncle Joe Cannon.

From Danville south to Paris, following the line of the Paris and Danville Railroad, we are in a land of early settlement. We pass through Georgetown and through Ridge Farm, an early settlement of Quakers. A little to the west is Catlin, the first county seat of Vermilion County with an untold story of Isaac Sodowsky, the Russian refugee; off to the east, at the site of the lost village of Palermo, Colonel George Croghan made preliminary peace with Pontiac, toward the end of the French and Indian wars. Nearby, Henry Clay took up several sections of land in Illinois.

And now we have come to Paris, which was on the stage coach line from Terre Haute to Quincy, where Lincoln attended court regularly and where he spoke, in 1858, with Owen Lovejoy and overcame the public prejudice against the ardent abolitionist. Paris was the home of Governor French and of

General Alexander, who won bloodless fame in the Black Hawk War and won notoriety as chairman of the State Commission of Public Improvements which plunged the State into bankruptcy during the hectic period of internal improvements in 1837. The Big Four Railway, which we cross here, was one of the wild schemes of railroad building under the old "Illinois policy" of the boom days. What a dramatic story of politics and rivalry and bitterness that is, if we had but time to pursue it! And then here at Paris, Dennis Hanks, kinsman of Lincoln and hope and confusion of historians, was killed, run down by a team of horses as he came from the county fair.

On this journey I should take a side trip from Paris, over State Route 16, to the Coles County Lincoln country, south of Charleston and Mattoon. Near this road, a little west of Paris, is the inland village of Grand View, the metropolis of the section in its day. Here James McCracken had a famous tavern and here Lincoln spoke in the Fremont campaign of 1856. On west, we cross the Embarras River, not far above McCann's Ford, where Lincoln and his relatives crossed when they came to Illinois from Indiana in 1830 and not far from Blakeman's Mill, and the boat yards, where flat boats were built to float down the Embarras to the sea.

Then on to Charleston, or old Coles Court House, where Lincoln assisted his friend Usher F. Linder in representing a slave owner who wanted to take his female slave back to Kentucky; where one of the famous Lincoln and Douglas debates was held at the old fair grounds west of town; where Lincoln came after he was elected President to visit the grave of his father and where he bade farewell to his step-mother, Sarah Bush Lincoln, for the last time. And here was the riot of 1863, whose offenders are said to have been pardoned by Mr. Lincoln at the request of Dennis Hanks. Out near the fair grounds, where the debate was held, you will find the grave of Dennis Hanks and the tombstone telling that he taught Lincoln to read and write.

The state highway from Charleston to Mattoon follows the road taken by Douglas and his followers on the day of the debate. Lincoln's crowd came over a road a mile south

to avoid disturbance. At Mattoon we come to the place where General Grant was given his chance for fame, after he had left the army in disgrace and had come back to service as a drill-master after a life of poverty and obscurity in St. Louis, in Ohio and at Galena, for here Governor Yates gave him a regiment and here he is said to have taken command.

South of Mattoon is a section intimately associated with the Lincoln family. Through this country they passed when they came into Illinois in 1830 on their way to their first home near Decatur. After the first terrible winter in Illinois,—the winter of the deep snow—Abraham went to Sangamontown and then on his journey to New Orleans, when he first saw New Salem which became his later home. Thomas and Sarah Bush Lincoln went down into Coles County, where they lived and died. Abraham visited them here, when he came back from New Orleans, and he came, for the last time, after he was made President. In this small section we may find the three farm homes of Thomas Lincoln; the site of the wrestling match between Abraham and Daniel Needham; the graves of Thomas and Sarah Bush Lincoln at Shiloh Cemetery; the ford where the Lincolns crossed the Embarras; the little house at Farmington where Abraham and Sarah Bush Lincoln had their last visit together.

Returning to Paris, we drive south on Route 1, to Marshall, where Hubbard's Trace or the Vincennes Road crossed the Old National or the Cumberland Road, the great highway from the east completed, as far west as the state capital at Vandalia, in the early thirties. The town of Marshall was laid out by Governor Duncan, father of the Illinois school laws, and William B. Archer, one of the Illinois and Michigan Canal Commissioners, for whom Archer Avenue in Chicago was named. This was the home of James Harlan, Chairman of the Court of the Alabama Claims, and here lived John Scholfield, who is said to have been the only man who ever rejected the job of Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

A few miles east of Marshall, on the Wabash River, whose history could be made to fill volumes, is the quaint little village of Darwin, the first county seat of Clark County and of Crawford County before Clark was created. The Lincolns passed through Darwin as they came into the State.

We enter the oil section of Illinois and pass through the modern city of Robinson, to go east on a short side-trip to the old, historic town of Palestine. Here La Motte Fort was built during the war of 1812, by the French settlers who had gathered about old Vincennes, and here the land office was established in 1820, and here the settlers about Chicago and Fort Dearborn came to secure the titles for their land. Here William H. Byford, the great surgeon, was learning the tailor's trade at the time that the Lincolns came through the settlement on their way from Indiana, and here lived Governor French and Jesse K. Dubois.

Continuing south over Route 1, for about 20 miles, we come again to the Embarras River as we enter Lawrenceville. It was here, in 1779, that George Rogers Clark and his band of Virginians and French from Cahokia, swam the icy waters of the stream as they made their way to Fort Sackville at Vincennes. The lowlands between Lawrenceville and the Wabash—the "purgatories" of early days—were flooded, and Clark had to go several miles south to cross the larger river. And on the banks of the Embarras, the Indians captured Vigo, the St. Louis merchant, who had gone to Vincennes as a spy for Clark. At Lawrenceville we may learn much of the Dubois family and we may hear that Lincoln was challenged to a duel here by a man named Anderson back in the forties.

The real tourist with historic taste will go a few miles east and visit the old town of Vincennes,—the French and British and old American capital; but if he does so, he will be tempted to follow the Lincoln trail to Gentryville and then on back to Hodgenville.

We go on south through the oil fields, passing near to the old French village of St. Francisville, where Clark crossed the Wabash to reach Vincennes. Nearby, General Harrison met Tecumseh and his braves in conference during the War of 1812. A little off the road, on the banks of the Wabash, is the site of the now-deserted city of Palmyra, once the county seat of Edwards County, where a branch of the State Bank was established in 1819 and where there was to have been a great shipping port, when the canal was completed around the rapids of the river. There are many of these deserted cities, once of great promise and each with its fascinating story.

And so the road goes on,—through Mount Carmel, which was to have been the eastern terminus of a canal from the Mississippi and a railway from Alton in the boom days. And then we come to English Prairie and to Albion, where Morris Birkbeck and George Flower established their settlement for British artisans in 1818, one of the most historic sections in Illinois.

As we go on south, a side road leads to New Harmony, Indiana, the communal settlement of the Harmonites. Nearby is the Fox River in which Birkbeck was drowned.

We cross the Little Wabash, described by the early land boomers as a "majestic stream." At its mouth is the quaint, old village of New Haven, settled in 1800 by a brother of Daniel Boone as a half-way point between Vincennes and Shawneetown. On crossing the Little Wabash, we pass through Carmi, a town with an interesting story and the home of Wilson, Lockwood, Robinson and Webb.

From Harrisburg we would take a short detour over State Route 13 to the Ohio River country, whose beauty is not appreciated by the Illinois tourist, and this detour will take us through the ancient village of Equality, or Egalite, the site of the important Gallatin salines, and on to Shawneetown, the busiest town west of Pittsburgh in early days and one of the most historic spots in Illinois. Here we will hear stories of Colonel George Croghan, of General LaFayette, of John A. Logan, of General Posey, McClernand, McLean and William L. D. Ewing. From here, a short drive over country roads and through a beautiful country, brings us to Cave-in-Rock, the home of the Ohio River pirates; to delightful old Elizabethtown; to the fluor-spar mines at Rosiclare and to the historic river town of Golconda.

From here, we pass through the Eagle Mountains, great hills which are really a spur of the Ozarks, through Stone Fort and near several of the beauty spots of Illinois; on through the sleepy, old county town of Vienna, which we must call Vyanna; then through the cypress swamps, unlike any other section of Illinois, to arrive at last at Metropolis and old Fort Massac. Here we come upon the traditional footsteps of De Soto and the real stories of French occupation as early as

1711, the days of Fort Ascension in the French and Indian Wars, doubtful stories of Aaron Burr, Genet, Wilkinson and Blennerhassett and, finally, that great chapter of Illinois history, the landing of George Rogers Clark under orders from Patrick Henry, to make his march through the wilderness to Kaskaskia and on to Vincennes.

I feel that I have well-nigh exhausted your patience in tracing, in merest outline, but one of the scores of highways of Illinois, and I repeat that this is not the most historic highway.

Our next road would be State Route 2, extending north from Cairo and following the course of the main line of the Illinois Central, whose story is a large chapter of the history of Illinois. Cairo brings to mind the old French occupation; the dreams of the greatest shipping point of the nation; the old boom days of the land company and the bank of Cairo; the visit of Charles Dickens and his offending descriptions in the "American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit"; the headquarters of Grant and the important military base during the Civil War. Our road takes us through the lowlands along the Cache River, named by the early French missionaries; through Mounds, the scene of an Indian massacre, and into the big hills and orchard country about Anna.

A mile or so away is Jonesboro, the scene of one of the Lincoln and Douglas debates, with an interesting courthouse and jail, the old fair grounds where the debate was held and the Union House, still standing, where Lincoln and Horace White sat and watched Donati's comet. A little farther on, near Makanda, is an old stone fort and the Giant City State Park. A little to the west, on the Mississippi, is Grand Tower, described by Marquette in 1673, and known to the early French as Le Cap de St. Croix.

From Carbondale, we would go west a bit to Murphysboro, the home of John A. Logan, and near here we would search out the meagre ruins of Brownsville, the early county seat, located at the Big Muddy Salines, the seat of a branch of the ill-fated State Bank and the home of Governor Duncan, Sidney Breese and other prominent men. Centralia was an important station on the underground railroad and here Lin-

coln and Douglas came to attend the State Fair as they made their way north after the Jonesboro debate. At Sandoval, we cross the old Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, which marks the northern boundary of Egypt, in which Thebes and Karnak, as well as Cairo, are important centers.

Within an hour, we have crossed the Kaskaskia, called the Okaw, as a corruption of the French *Aux Kaskaskias,* and are in historic old Vandalia, the second capital of Illinois, from 1820 to 1839. This was the western terminus of the old Cumberland Road from the East. The last State House to be erected there still stands, wisely preserved by the State. Here Governors Bond, Coles, Edwards, Reynolds, Ewing and Duncan served their terms and here Lincoln, Douglas, Browning, McClernand and scores of others came into prominence. The town is full of historic interest.

From now on we must note only the high spots. At Decatur we cross the Sangamon. Down this stream a few miles, the Lincolns and the Hankses had their first home in Illinois, and from here, down the river, Lincoln went, in 1831, to New Salem and to Springfield. Up this stream, as far as Springfield, Lincoln helped guide the one lone steamboat which gave the town its promise of a waterway to the sea and during his first campaign for the Legislature, Lincoln advocated the improvement of the Sangamon as a major plank in his platform. Decatur itself was the scene of the second Republican State Convention, where Lincoln was endorsed for the Presidency and where John Hanks and Governor Oglesby made him the railsplitter candidate.

From Decatur, we must make a short detour to Monticello, where Lincoln had followed Douglas in the campaign of 1858, and to Bement, where, at the Bryant house, now a museum, the details of the joint debates were settled. North again on Route 2, we pass through Clinton, where Lincoln is said to have given utterance to the statement "You can fool all of the people part of the time" and where he first met General McClellan, then a railroad man.

Then on to Bloomington, where the first Republican Convention was held and the famous lost speech given; where Lincoln and Douglas came together often; the home of Jesse

Fell, to whom Lincoln gave the brief autobiography; of David Davis, Leonard Swett, Adlai E. Stevenson, Joseph W. Fifer and others of prominence. Two miles north is Normal, with the State Normal University, built with funds from the seminary lands, the oldest state normal school in the United States.

As we approach LaSalle, we will go a few miles to the east to the old town of Lowell, on the Vermilion of the Illinois, where was created the Buel Institute which gave birth not only to the University of Illinois, but to most of the state universities of the nation,—the town of Zebina Eastman, of Hooper Warren and of Benjamin Lundy. Then another short detour takes us to Granville, where the movement for state universities was actually put in motion, and on to Hennepin, on the Illinois, where the American Fur Company had its earliest station under Gurdon Hubbard and which was the refuge of the people of the Bureau Creek country during the Black Hawk War.

Again back to Route 2, still following the old main line of the Illinois Central, we cross the Illinois River with its great story of the early French explorations and come to LaSalle and nearby Peru. Here was the southern end of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, foretold by LaSalle and Marquette, and here travellers up the Illinois transferred to palatial canal boats for Chicago. You will find here the farm purchased by Daniel Webster, when he decided to become an Illinois farmer. On north, we pass through Mendota, where Hooper Warren died; through Amboy, where Lincoln spent the night before the Freeport debate; crossing Bureau Creek, near the section where Shabonee wore out two ponies warning the white settlers of the outbreak of the Black Hawk War.

Then we reach Dixon, or Dixon's or Ogee's Ferry, the old town of White Cloud, the Winnebago Prophet, the crossing point for travellers from Chicago and from Peoria for the lead mines about Galena; the headquarters for the Black Hawk War, where Lincoln, Winfield Scott, Zachary Taylor, Jefferson Davis, Albert Sidney Johnston, Erasmus D. Keyes, Robert Anderson and others came together; where Lincoln and his friends are said to have agreed upon the fatal questions which

Lincoln put to Douglas in the Freeport debate. Here stands the Nachusa Tavern originally built by John Dixon, the most historic hotel in Illinois.

Our road takes us up the beautiful valley of the Rock River, through historic Grand Detour, the site of Chief Jarro's Indian village, and where John Deere created his first steel plow; through the heart of the Black Hawk country; past Stillman's Run, ironically named for the defeat of the whites by the Indians; past the heroic statue of Black Hawk erected by Lorado Taft and on to Rockford, described as the town of Midway at the "ford of the Rock River." We sympathize with old Black Hawk who, when captured, justified his actions by repeating, "Rock River is a beautiful country."

Route 2 ends at the Wisconsin line, near the college town of Beloit, and the last Illinois settlement is Rockton, where the Pecatonica empties into the Rock. Here Stephen Mack established the first permanent white settlement, which he called Macktown, after he escaped from Grand Detour at the time of the Winnebago War.

The tourist would turn west from Rockford over State Highway 5, once traversed by the stage coaches from Chicago to the lead country about Galena, and in travelling through this section he would recall that all of northern Illinois would have belonged to Wisconsin had it not been for the foresight and insistence of Nathaniel Pope, our delegate at Washington, when the State was created in 1818.

Passing near the site of Winnebago, once the rival of Rockford, we come to Freeport, the scene of the second Lincoln and Douglas debate, a town which has been declared to be as important as Plymouth Rock in American history and where Theodore Roosevelt said was sounded the keynote of the struggle which made the entire nation united and free. The town is on the Pecatonica, the site of an old Indian village about whose early history is much interesting tradition. One may sleep in either the Lincoln or Douglas room of the old Brewster House, the pride of the town at the time of the debates.

The road carries us through the great hills of northern Illinois, near to the beautiful Apple River canyons, through

a section settled by the French as early as 1690 and, on account of its lead mines, the most important part of Illinois industrially for generations, so important that Congress was petitioned to create it as an independent State. This was also the center of the most important action during the Black Hawk War and at Elizabeth was fought the principal battle.

Galena itself is perhaps the most interesting old town in Illinois and has preserved most of her landmarks connected with the early French settlement, the boom days in the lead mines and the early Illinois story of General U. S. Grant. Here the citizens of Illinois derived their name of "Suckers" and here was felt the bursting of the Mississippi bubble.

It is a beautiful drive through the great hills to Savanna and the site of the Mississippi Palisades and here we resume paved highways leading us to Morrison, which is the beginning of Highway Number 3, by long odds the most historic highway in the State. Route 3 carries us through the Rock River valley near Prophetstown, the village of White Cloud, who was Black Hawk's ally, and then on to Moline and Rock Island, on the Mississippi, and the site of old Fort Armstrong, acquired by the Government in 1804. The story of the Mississippi, with its associations with Marquette, Joliet, Hennepin and De Soto, would make a great volume in itself. Here at Rock Island stand the piers of the bridge which figured in the "Effie Afton" case, tried by Abraham Lincoln and here occurred the incidents which brought about the famous Dred Scott decision.

Just south of Rock Island, overlooking the Rock River as it enters the Mississippi, is Black Hawk's watch tower, the home of Black Hawk, where Indian villages were destroyed in the French and Indian Wars, the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Black Hawk War. Here came Montgomery, at the end of the Revolution, and here was defeated Major Zachary Taylor, later President of the United States. At the mouth of the Rock was a boom town fostered by Dan Webster who employed Lincoln as his attorney.

We pass south through a country in which there are said to be 2500 Indian mounds, and come to Monmouth where we take a short detour to Oquawka, once known as Yellow Bank,

where Black Hawk returned to Illinois, causing the War of 1832; where came the troops from Beardstown, among them Captain Abraham Lincoln, to take part in that war. Here is the classical old court house before which Lincoln and Douglas spoke in 1858 and the home of S. S. Phelps, who attempted to dissuade Black Hawk and in whose old house is the room in which Lincoln stayed.

From Macomb, an important town on the underground railway, we take a short detour, over State Route 9, to visit Warsaw, the site of old Fort Edwards, the scene of disturbances in the Mormon War and the home of John Hay. Going north along the Mississippi, we come to Nauvoo, the capital of the Mormons and of the Icarians, the center of the Mormon disturbances and one of the most interesting and historic settlements in the State. Returning to Macomb, we pass through Carthage to see the old stone jail in which Joseph and Hyrum Smith were murdered,—an important town in the Lincoln and Douglas days.

Passing through Rushville, the home of the Scripps family, important in American journalism, we traverse the Rushville and Beardstown turnpike road, incorporated in 1833, through the big hills and into the valley of the Illinois and reach the bridge at Beardstown, where Thomas Beard established his ferry in 1826. This was the old Muscootin Indian settlement visited by LaSalle and here occurred perhaps the most savage battle in the Illinois country between the Muscootins and the Miamis. In 1831, Lincoln came here on his flat boat; the next year he came to meet the "Talisman," the one steam boat that ascended the Sangamon to Springfield; the next year Lincoln was here again as a captain of militia of the Black Hawk War. Here Lincoln and Douglas spoke frequently and here, in what is now the city hall, Lincoln won the Duff Armstrong case.

From Beardstown we would take another detour to Quincy, rejoining Route 3 at Jacksonville. Over Route 103, we cross the valley of the Illinois and join Route 31 through Mount Sterliug and on into Adams County where we may visit the important spots of Marquette and Highland Counties created in days of early political upheaval, but which never

materialized. Our road brings us to Quincy, at the site of an old Sac village, created by Governor Wood and Willard Keyes, the home of Douglas and Browning and the scene of one of the Lincoln and Douglas debates.

Taking Route 36 out of Quincy, we pass through an old historic section and, as we enter Pike County, a side road leads to Hannibal and the haunts of Mark Twain. Farther on we come to Pittsfield, the home of John Nicolay and John Hay, the country of the Pike County Ballads, and nearby is a little village of Atlas, the home of Nicholas Hanson and John Shaw and Colonel William Ross.

On a short detour over Route 100 we may follow the Illinois River down into beautiful and primitive Calhoun County, to Kampsville and to Hardin and to spots where Marquette landed and to the place where LaSalle left his message for Tonty.

Returning to Route 36, we cross the Illinois, not far below Meredosia, the western terminus of the Northern Cross Railway, then on to Winchester where Stephen A. Douglas taught school and where we hear stories of Lincoln, Douglas and Peter Cartwright. A few miles farther we come to Jacksonville, "The Athens of the west," with its story of Illinois College, of Dr. Charles Chandler, General Grierson, John J. Hardin, Richard Yates, William Jennings Bryan and a host of prominent men of early Illinois.

Resuming Route 3 we pass through White Hall, home of the brilliant but unfortunate Josiah Lamborn; then on to Carrollton, laid out by Governor Carlin; the home of Colonel E. D. Baker and Joseph Frye, where Lincoln practiced in a jimson patch with a broadsword on his way to the Shields duel.

Through Jerseyville, the center of abolitionists, our road takes us near to Grafton at the mouth of the Illinois, visited by Marquette and St. Cosme and LaSalle and Tonty and to Elsah, overlooking the river, the home of James Semple who invented the prairie wagon, a queer forerunner of the automobile. Nearby are the "frightful, castellated rocks," described by Marquette, and the strange picture of the Piasa bird.

The road brings us to Alton, which figured so conspicuously in the frenzied period of internal improvements; the suc-

cessful rival of St. Louis; the home of Elijah Lovejoy and the place of his death; the home of Lyman Trumbull and the Bakers and the site of the last of the Lincoln and Douglas debates. Up the hill at Upper Alton we pass Shurtleff College, one of the oldest in the State; and at the mouth of Wood River we come to the site of the now forgotten town of Milton, important in an early day; and down Wood River a fraction of a mile, the spot where Meriwether Lewis and William Clark made their camp in the winter of 1803 before exploring the land of the Louisiana purchase.

We would go a few miles out of our way to Edwardsville, located where Governor Edwards established Fort Russell during the war of 1812, the home of Edward Coles, Jesse B. Thomas, Benjamin Stevenson, Dr. John Todd;—where Hooper Warren and Theophilus Smith fought with dirk and pistol. Edwardsville has retained many historic landmarks.

Hurrying on to East St. Louis, once known as Jacksonville and later as Illinois Town, we come to Cahokia, the oldest inhabited community in the State since Kaskaskia has been washed away. Nearby are the Cahokia Mounds of great interest to archaeologists. Through an exceedingly old and historic country, whose every mile has a romantic story, we come to Prairie du Rocher and Renault, in the old French settlements and the scene of John Law's Mississippi bubble. Nearby is Fort Chartres, wisely preserved by the State, the greatest fort erected by the French in what is now the United States. Our road ends at Chester, high on the bluffs near which are located Fort Gage and the old Pierre Menard house, opposite which the waters of the Mississippi flow over what was once the French and British and American capital of Kaskaskia.

The subject is far too great to be covered at a meeting of this kind. Touching only the highest spots, we would turn back from Chester and go north to Belleville, the home of the German abolitionists and the home of many of Illinois' most distinguished citizens. Then on north to O'Fallon, we would take Illinois Route 12, the Carlyle-Vincennes road, to visit Rock Spring where we will still find the home of John Mason Peck, the founder of Rock Spring Seminary, the oldest college in Illinois; and Lebanon on Looking Glass Prairie, the

site of Chamber's Fort and of McKendree College. Then on to Carlyle, the home of Sidney Breese, where we would visit the old Truesdale House.

Turning north we would pass quickly through Greenville, located near Hill's Fort, where Lincoln visited often. Then on north to Hillsboro with its many romantic stories and up a straight road over the prairies to Springfield, whose story I shall not attempt even to touch upon. However, Springfield on the Sangamon is carrying out the prophecy of taking place with Stratford-on-Avon as a great shrine.

From Springfield we would suggest going over the old Terre Haute, Springfield and Beardstown stage coach road to Pleasant Plains to visit the grave of Peter Cartwright and then north to Tallula, once known as Clary's Grove. Then on to New Salem, in some ways the unique memorial of the nation as the early home of Abraham Lincoln. At nearby Petersburg, we would visit the traditional grave of Ann Rutledge and we would go north a few miles to hunt old Concord cemetery and the Panther school house near which Ann Rutledge died.

Hurrying on through Mason City, we would take a detour to Havana on the Illinois River, a great center in early days where Lincoln came by canoe from the Black Hawk War in 1832 and where Lincoln and Douglas spoke in the campaign of 1858. Crossing the Illinois, we would visit the important Fulton County Indian burial mounds and go on to Lewistown, an early political center in the heart of the Spoon River country.

Returning to the Springfield-Peoria road, we would visit the site of Fort Tazewell at Pekin and take a short detour to the old communal settlement at Tremont where Lincoln received the challenge for the Shield's duel. Then north along the Illinois River we would stop at Fort Creve Coeur, one of the most important historic landmarks on the American continent whose story can not be touched today.

The majority of the citizens of Peoria would be surprised to know the history of that community which dates back almost to the days of Marquette and LaSalle. Here died in poverty Governor Ford, who did as much for the financial

reconstruction of Illinois as Coles did in his fight against slavery. If we would mention Ford to the average citizen of Peoria today, he would probably talk of automobiles.

Leaving Peoria on Route 99, we come to the old church at Kickapoo—said to be the oldest Catholic church in the State—and nearby is Robin's Nest and the site of Jubilee College, founded by Bishop Philander Chase.

Halting at Elmwood, the home of Lorado Taft, to see his monument to the pioneers, we would go on to Knoxville and to the old college town of Galesburg, the site of Knox and Lombard Colleges where one of the Lincoln and Douglas debates was held.

Northwest out of Galesburg we would come very soon to Bishop Hill, the communal settlement of the Jensenites, a village which still preserves most of its old buildings. Then on through Kewanee to Route 7, through Wyanette with its memories of "Dad Joe" Smith, a man who has aroused my interest as it has only been aroused by Gurdon Hubbard, Hooper Warren and Peter Cartwright.

A little farther on we come to Princeton, the home of the Lovejoys and the Bryants, a strong abolition center. Nearby is the old Indian village of Tiskilwa where the plans were made for the Black Hawk War. Through a beautiful rolling country as we approach the Illinois, we recross our trail at Peru and LaSalle and go on east, stopping at Starved Rock where Tonty built Fort St. Louis under the direction of LaSalle. Across the river, near the village of Utica, is the old Indian village of the Kaskaskia where Marquette established the first mission in the Illinois country.

A few miles farther on, following the general course of the old Illinois and Michigan canal, we come to Ottawa, the site of one of the Lincoln and Douglas debates, located at the mouth of the Fox River in a country full of historic interest. From here we would go north, stopping at Shabbona Park, the scene of the massacre, and on to Plano, just south of which we will find Maremech Hill, the site of a savage battle during the French and Indian wars.

From here on our road follows the beautiful valley of the Fox River through Oswego, Aurora, Geneva and St.

Charles to Elgin, each section having its romantic story. From Elgin we would complete our journey to Chicago over Route 5 which was known as the old army trail and over which General Winfield Scott led his little army during the Black Hawk War.

I have found it almost impossible to cover a subject so extensive even in the generous amount of time allotted me today and yet be sufficiently detailed to give an impression of the wealth of interest which practically every Illinois road offers to the student of history and lover of romance. I wish I might feel that out of this meeting and others similar to it, would grow a determined movement to mark the historic landmarks of Illinois, not in the haphazard fashion of chambers of commerce or the commercial organizations, but as intelligently and accurately as the marking of historic places has been done in Virginia, where it was the work of a commission of well-informed historians.

MISCONCEPTIONS CONCERNING THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

By Fred H. Turner

The Illinois Industrial University was founded by an act of the Illinois General Assembly which was passed February 26, 1867.[1] The founding of the University was closely linked with the movement for industrial education, the Land Grant Act of 1862, the history of the Illinois Agricultural Society, the activities of the small sectarian colleges in Illinois, the founding of the Normal School at Bloomington, and a series of political events. As a result of these allied events, a number of misconceptions arose in regard to the establishment of the University and its subsequent early history and many of these have persisted to the present time.

I. Confusion in Regard to the Name of the University

Undoubtedly, some confusion has come from the fact that the University of Illinois of today was the Illinois Industrial University until 1885. The present connotation of the term "Industrial School" has a certain air of penal institution about it which may account for part of this confusion. A bill passed by the Illinois legislature on February 26, 1867, was "An Act to provide for the organization, endowment, and maintenance of the Illinois Industrial University." The institution was organized and operated under this name until June 19, 1885, when the legislature approved "An Act to change the name of the Illinois Industrial University."[2] Following the passage of this act, the institution was known as the University of Illinois. The Illinois Industrial University and the University of Illinois are therefore the same institution, the one being the outgrowth of the other.

[1] *Illinois House Journal,* (1867) Vol. II, p. 451.
[2] *Illinois Laws,* 1885, p. 252.

II. The belief that the University of Illinois was the first State institution of higher learning established in Illinois.

There is a common belief that the Illinois Industrial University was the first state supported institution of higher learning in Illinois and that it was established as a result of the first movement for a state college or university. The first attempt to found a state university took place on February 14, 1833, when a bill was introduced in the legislature providing for the establishment of a state university.[3] Section 1 of the bill proposed to establish a University "for the education of youth in the English, learned, and foreign languages, the useful sciences and literature, to be known by the name and style of the Illinois University." Section 11 instructed the trustees to locate this university at Springfield and Section 10 provided that "interest arising from the proceeds of the sales of the seminary lands and from the seminary fund shall be appropriated for the use of said seminary to be paid annually."[4] The bill failed, a number of reasons being mentioned for its failure:

1. The location at Springfield was not satisfactory with Vandalia.[5]
2. Shurtleff, McKendree, and Illinois colleges fought it as a rich and powerful rival.[6]
3. The legislators and politicians were making every attempt to avoid additional taxation.[7]
4. The Seminary fund had evidently been used in defraying the expenses of the state government and could not at that time have been produced.[8]

Two more attempts to utilize these funds in 1834 were made. In December, 1834, Governor Duncan in his message to the General Assembly recommended the establishment of a state university.[9] In the same month, an educational con-

[3] Pillsbury, W. L.—"Historical Sketch of the University of Illinois" *(17th Biennial Report of the Supt. of Public Instruction,* 1886-1888), p. CXVII.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Powell, Burt E., *University of Illinois Semi-Centennial History* (Urbana, 1918), p. 165.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Pillsbury, *op. cit.*
[8] Blackmar, Frank W., "The History of Federal and State Aid to Higher Education," (*Bureau of Education, Circular No. 1,* 1890. Washington, 1890), p. 233.
[9] Pillsbury, W. L., "History of Early Education in Illinois," *(16th Biennial Report, State Supt. of Public Instruction, 1885-1886), p. civ.*

vention was held at Vandalia and on December 5, 1834, a memorial to the legislature was framed purposing to use the seminary fund for a number of seminaries, rather than "one mammoth college.[10] Nothing came of either suggestion, but the fact remains that there were earlier movements to establish a state college, university, or seminary.

There were two successful attempts to found state educational institutions before the Illinois Industrial University was chartered in 1867. The friends of the Industrial University cause united with the State Teachers' Institute in 1856 in an attempt to secure a normal school for teacher training. These two groups had not been entirely friendly at times, but the Industrial University man had been unsuccessful and saw a stepping stone to their objectives in the establishment of the Normal School.

Following the advice of J. B. Turner,[11] the Normal School and University men "took hold together" and after the meeting of the Teachers' Institute in 1856, a committee was appointed which drafted a bill to create a normal school.[12] This bill after an easy time in the Senate, and a strenuous encounter in the House was passed February 18, 1857.[13] It provided for the location and maintenance of the State Normal School and appropriated the interest of the college and seminary fund for that purpose.[14] The objects of the Normal School were "to qualify teachers for the common schools, for instruction in all branches of study. . . "[15] The location was awarded to Bloomington, May 6, 1857,[16] and work on the buildings began soon after. The State Normal University at Bloomington was therefore the first state institution of higher learning in Illinois.

A second successful attempt to secure state aid for an institution was made in 1861. On February 21, 1861, a bill was passed to incorporate the Illinois Agricultural College "for the purpose of instruction in practical and scientific agricul-

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[10] *Ibid.*
[11] Pillsbury, W. L., "The Illinois State Normal University," *(17th Biennial Report of State Supt. of Public Instruction, 1886 1888)*, p. lxxxix.
[12] *Ibid*, p. xci.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Illinois Journal*, Feb. 2, 1857.
[15] Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 556.
[16] Pillsbury, *op. cit.*, p. xciii.

ture and in the mechanical arts."[17] Four and one-half sections of seminary fund lands remained unsold and these were donated to the corporation to found this college, which was located at Irvington under circumstances which were questionable if not actually dishonest.[18] Thus a second state institution was founded before the establishment of the Illinois Industrial University.

III. The statement that the Land Grant Act culminated from the movement originated at the Granville meeting of 1851.

There is a general belief that the Land Grant Act of 1862 was the culmination of a movement which began at a meeting of farmers at Granville in Putnam County, Illinois, November 18, 1851. At the Granville meeting, there was no mention of a national movement such as the Land Grant Act included and the first recorded mention of such a plan was made in a letter from J. B. Turner to the *Prairie Farmer,* published in March, 1852.

The Granville meeting was called in October, 1851, and J. B. Turner was invited to attend and address the assembly. The purpose of the meeting was "to adopt some measure to establish an Agricultural School or Department in some school in Southern Illinois."[19] Turner attended this meeting on November 18, 1851, and presented his plan for the establishment and maintenance of an industrial university. In his speech, he asked, "How can such an institution be created and endowed? . . . . The fund given to this state by the general government expressly for this purpose is amply sufficient . . . this fund (the college and seminary fund) should . . be put in the hands of the people."[20]

A resolution was introduced in the meeting on November 19, 1851, by Mr. Lofflin which was unanimously adopted: "Resolved that we earnestly solicit the people of this state . . . . to join with us in asking the legislature to grant to the people of the state the fund which belongs to them, to aid in

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[17] *Illinois Senate Journal, 22nd Assembly, 1861,* p. 584.
[18] *Illinois Journal,* Feb. 20, 1862.
[19] Carriel, Mary T., *Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner* (Chicago, 1911), p. 95.
[20] Powell, *op. cit.,* p. 382.

establishing an institute for the industrial classes of the state . . . ."[21]

At the Granville meeting, there was no mention of a nationwide movement for a system of land grant schools. The only move contemplated was for an industrial college in Illinois to be supported by the college and seminary funds, then in use by the state government.

The March, 1852, issue of the *Prairie Farmer* contained two articles relating to industrial education. The first was an editorial discussing Turner's plan for an industrial college, and the proceedings of the Granville meeting. That the plan for national land grants was not under consideration at that time is proved by the editor's statement:

"For the realization of the scheme it is proposed to use the University fund given to the State by the general government. How far the expenses of the Institution should be borne by the State; whether in the erection of buildings, the purchase of lands and apparatus, and the payment of teachers only, or in the payment of tuition also, or even the other expenses of the student, is not advised. A board of Trustees is to be chosen by the Legislature for the management of the fund, and by this Board the work is to be begun."[22]

The second article was a letter from Mr. J. B. Turner and in this letter he made the first public statement of a proposition to build industrial colleges by means of a plan of national land grants from the federal government. His statement was as follows:

"And I am satisfied that if the farmers and their friends will now but exert themselves they can speedily secure for this State, and for each State in the Union, an appropriation of public lands adequate to create and endow in the most liberal manner, a general system of popular Industrial Education, more glorious in its design and more beneficent in its results than the world has ever seen before. There is wisdom enough in the State, and in the Union, to plan and conduct it—there are students enough to patronize it—there is useless land and wealth enough to endow it—and there are hearts

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 383.
[22] *Prairie Farmer*, Vol. XII, No. 3. March, 1852, p. 106.

enough that want it. Shall they have it? A proper movement now by the farmers' and mechanics' real friends will secure it—and no man, and no other person or interest in the universe will suffer for it. But there is always a tide in the affairs of men—let several of the States become committed to some other scheme, and the golden opportunity may be lost forever. Now, all is open and favorable, and the way is plain. Soon, it may not, and probably will not be so. Shall we not, then, labor for this end? and if plans now suggested are not the best, let us take that which is. But let us, by all means strive together, as one man, for the glorious end of the LIBERAL and appropriate practical education of every class, of whatever name, throughout the State, and throughout the Union.

"Respectfully yours,
[signed] J. B. Turner"[23]

These articles would seem to prove that at the Granville meeting, the only funds contemplated for use by the industrial college were the college and seminary funds, whereas the first mention of the appropriation of public lands for this purpose on a national scale was made five months later in a communication to the *Prairie Farmer*.

IV. The mistaken idea that Jonathan Baldwin Turner originated the idea of industrial education.

Jonathan Baldwin Turner has been called the "father of industrial education" and is often credited with originating the idea of this special branch of training. One writer has said that the "voice which rang out loudest and clearest" in regard to industrial education was that of Professor Turner and this statement adheres to the truth more closely than the first. Turner was original in one phase of his proposition, namely, "to secure for this state and for each state in the Union an appropriation of public lands adequate to create and endow in the most liberal manner, a general system of popular industrial education."[24]

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[23] *Ibid.*, p. 114.
[24] *Ibid.*

It has already been pointed out that as early as 1833 an attempt was made to found a state university to be financed by the college and seminary funds.[25] It should be shown that agricultural education was not a new subject in 1851 and federal aid had been requested and granted in a number of cases, although not on the nationwide plan suggested by Mr. Turner.

The following facts prove that agricultural and industrial education was not a new subject in 1851:

1. In 1827, the Illinois Legislature chartered a college to be at or near Albion "to teach and instruct . . . in agriculture, manufacturing and trades, and in general science."[26]
2. A number of manual labor schools were chartered in Illinois in 1835.[27]
3. A petition was presented to the United States Senate in 1838 for a grant of land to the citizens of Bond County to establish an agricultural school and experimental farm.[28]
4. The Illinois Agricultural and Stock Association in Green County was chartered February 26, 1841, which proposed to establish an agricultural school when the time was advantageous.[29]
5. In March, 1841, the *Prairie Farmer* published a plan for a mechanical school.[30]
6. The *Prairie Farmer* from 1842 to 1851 constantly printed articles advocating industrial and agricultural education.
7. A bill was passed by the Illinois legislature in 1850 to "Incorporate the Farmers' College in Macoupin County."[31]
8. W. C. Flagg, a member of the first Board of Trustees of the Industrial University found seventeen unusually successful agricultural schools in Europe founded

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[25] Pillsbury, *op. cit.*, p. cxvii.

[26] Willard, Samuel, "History of Early Education in Illinois," *(15th Biennial Report of State Supt. of Public Instruction, 1882-1884)*, p. xcix.

[27] *Op. cit.*, p. cxiii; *Illinois Laws (1835-36)*, p. 160, p. 163, p. 167; *Ibid. (1836-37)*, p. 43.

[28] *U. S. Senate Journal, 25th Congress, 2nd Session (1837-38)*, p. 396.

[29] *Illinois Laws (1840-41)*, p. 295.

[30] *Union Agriculturist*, Vol. 1, No. 3 March, 1842. p. 26.

[31] *Illinois House Journal (1849-51)*, p. 332.

before 1851. The oldest was at Kruman in Bohemia founded in 1799.[32]

9. In 1796 the Massachusetts Agricultural Society was giving instruction in agricultural subjects.[33]
10. The Renssalaer Polytechnic Institute was founded in 1824.[34]
11. The Oneida Institute of Science and Industry was founded at York in 1827.[35]
12. There was a well-defined movement for the teaching of agriculture in New York and Massachusetts from 1840 to 1850.[36]
13. Benjamin Bussey of Boston willed $200,000 in 1842 to found an agricultural school.[37]
14. In 1849, Professor J. P. Norton was teaching agriculture at Yale University.[38]

While this list is not complete, it shows clearly that the idea of agricultural and mechanical education was not original with Mr. Turner.

Mr. Turner's suggestion in 1852 that help might be secured from the federal government for a nation-wide system of agricultural schools was unique in that it was a new way of making an old request. Many requests for federal aid for education had been made before 1852. Some of these were:

1. A petition to Congress from the University of Vincennes, in Indiana, November 20, 1807, asking for a tax on salt for the benefit of the University.[39] This request was denied.[40]
2. A request for a grant of public lands from Indiana Territory for a seminary of learning in the district of Vincennes made January 13, 1812.[41]
3. Introduction of a resolution in Congress on December 7, 1818, by Mr. Floyd of Maryland requesting an investigation of the expediency of granting each State

[32] Flagg Manuscripts, lent by Norman G. Flagg, Moro, Illinois.
[33] Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[34] Nevins, Allan, *Illinois* (New York, 1918), p. 19.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
[37] *The American Agriculturist*, Vol. I, 1842-43, p. 70.
[38] Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
[39] *U. S. House Journal, 10th Congress, 1st Session (1807-08)*, p. 37.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[41] *Ibid., 12th Congress, 1st Session (1811-13)*, p. 124.

not over 100,000 acres of public land for the endowment of a university in each State.[42] This request was tabled indefinitely.[43]

4. A senate gift of public lands in Connecticut in 1819 to benefit a seminary for the deaf and dumb.[44]
5. In 1821, nine of the older States memorialized Congress for land grants for educational purposes.[45]
6. A petition was received in Congress May 3, 1826, for a grant of lands to benefit a seminary of learning in the St. Helena District.[46]
7. In 1827, Congress made a donation of lands to Kentucky, for a seminary of learning for the deaf and dumb.[47]
8. On December 11, 1827, a request for land for colleges in Ohio was received[48] which was reported adversely, January 4, 1828.[49]
9. A bill was passed granting lands for a seminary in Alabama on May 24, 1828.[50]
10. Following this came requests for public land grants from the following colleges and universities: Louisiana, Brown, Ripley, Washington and Jefferson, Madison, Allegheny, Hardin, Jefferson, and Western.[51] All these were referred to the committee on public lands.[52]
11. February 23, 1835, Congress granted land valued at $25,000 to Georgetown University in the District of Columbia.[53]
12. Following this came many requests for aid from various institutions all over the country.
13. In 1838, a grant was made to Doctor Henry Perrine of a township of land in Florida for the purpose of cultivating tropical plants.[54]

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[42] *Ibid., 15th Congress, 2nd Session (1818-19)*, p. 69.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 195.
[44] James, Edmund J., "The Origin of the Land Grant Act of 1862," *(University of Illinois Bulletin*, Vol. VIII, No. 10, November 7, 1910), p. 15.
[45] Nevins, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
[46] *U. S. House Journal, 19th Congress, 1st Session (1825-26)*, p. 509.
[47] James, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[48] *U. S. House Journal, 20th Congress, 1st Session (1827-28)*, p. 34.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 246.
[50] *U. S. Senate Journal, 20th Congress, 1st Session (1827-28)*, p. 386.
[51] *Ibid., 2nd Session*, p. 188.
[52] *Ibid.*
[53] Blackmar, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
[54] James, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

While most of the requests for land had been denied, the fact remains that from the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 to the Granville meeting in 1851, a federal policy had been established which made possible important events of the future. In a word, no action had been taken to prevent the government from giving aid for education and legal steps had been taken to give aid in certain cases, especially for definitely indicated purposes.

V. The misunderstood origin of the so-called "Morrill Bill" and the part of Senator B. F. Wade of Ohio in the passage of the Land Grant Act of 1862.

There has been much discussion over the origin of the Land Grant Act of 1862, the so-called Morrill Bill. Mr. J. S. Morrill, of Vermont, never acknowledged any particular source for the material which went into the bill, but certain facts are quite obvious in regard to its origin.

First, Mr. Morrill introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives on February 26, 1856, that "the Committee on Agriculture inquire into the expediency of establishing one or more national agricultural schools upon the basis of the U. S. Naval and Military schools." There was objection to the resolution and it was not received.[55]

The original Morrill resolution bore no resemblance whatever to the bill which he later introduced.

Second, Mr. Morrill introduced a bill on December 14, 1857, in the House "donating public lands to the several states and territories which may provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts."[56] This bill became House Bill No. 2 and its main features were: "It provided for a grant of land to the several states and territories of 20,000 acres of land . . . . . for each member of Congress from the state . . . ." The states were to establish within five years not less than one college "where the leading object shall be without excluding other scientific and classical studies, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts . . . in order to promote the liberal and practical

[55] *Congressional Globe, 1st Session, 34th Congress (1856-7)*, p. 530.
[56] *U. S. House Journal, 35th Congress 1st Session (1857-8)*, p. 17.

education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."[57]

A comparison of the wording of this bill with some of the statements from the men of Illinois seems to indicate the source of Mr. Morrill's bill.

At the Springfield Convention of the Illinois Farmers, June 8, 1852, the delegates approved a resolution "appealing to Congress, in conjunction with other states, for an appropriation of public lands for each state in the Union for the appropriate endowment of Universities for the liberal education of the industrial classes in their several pursuits."[58] This resolution was repeated at the Chicago Convention on November 24, 1852.

On January 8, 1853, a second convention was held at Springfield and resolutions were passed to instruct the Illinois Senators and Representatives in Congress to try to "procure the passage of a law of Congress donating to each State in the Union an amount of public lands not less in value than $500,000 for the liberal endowment of a system of industrial universities . . ."[59] These resolutions were unanimously adopted by the General Assembly of Illinois on February 8, 1853,[60] and were sent to the Illinois Congressmen, and to the executives and legislators of the other States of the Union.

There seems to be little doubt that Mr. Morrill not only borrowed his plan from the Illinois men, but he used their phraseology as well in many cases.

A second error is generally believed in regard to the Land Grant Act. Mr. Morrill is credited with the sponsorship of the bill when the truth is that Senator B. F. Wade of Ohio introduced the bill which was finally approved. Senator Wade's bill was practically a duplicate of Mr. Morrill's, but Mr. Morrill's bill was rejected while Senator Wade's was passed. Mr. Morrill's bill was House Bill No. 2, introduced December 8, 1857.[61] After a hectic career among various committees, especially those on Public Land and Agriculture, and

[57] Pillsbury, op. cit., p. cxxvi.
[58] Pamphlet—*Industrial Universities for the People* (Jacksonville, 1853).
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] *Ibid.*
[61] *U. S. House Journal, 35th Congress, 1st Session (1857-8)*, p. 17.

a large amount of debate it passed the House on April 22, 1858,[62] amended slightly and passed by the Senate on February 7, 1859,[63] and presented to President Buchanan on February 18, 1859.[64] President Buchanan returned the bill to the House on February 26, 1859, with his veto and a scholarly statement of reasons for his action.[65]

Mr. Morrill introduced his bill at the next Congress, on February 6, 1860, and it was numbered House Bill No. 6.[66] It had a short life, for it was referred back to the House from the Committee on Public Lands on March 7, 1860, with the recommendation that "it do not pass." An attempt was made to table it, and action on it was postponed;[67] in the 36th Congress it was never mentioned again.

In the second session of the 37th Congress, Mr. Morrill introduced his bill again on December 16, 1861, which became House Bill No. 138.[68] Five months later on May 29, 1862, it was reported back from the Committee on Public Lands with a recommendation of denial. Instead, it was ordered to the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union and there it stayed, permanently.[69]

On May 5, 1862, Senator B. F. Wade of Ohio introduced a bill in the Senate which was practically identical with Mr. Morrill's bill; it became Senate Bill No. 298.[70] Mr. Wade stated "this is the same bill precisely that passed both houses of Congress two years ago and was vetoed by Mr. Buchanan, except that it gives a little more land to each state than that bill."[71] Mr. Wade's bill was passed by the Senate on June 10, 1862, by the majority of 32 to 7,[72] and by the House on June 17, 1862, the vote being 89 to 25.[73]

These facts would seem to prove that the so-called "Morrill Bill" was not original with Mr. Morrill, and that the bill passed was actually introduced by Senator B. F. Wade, of Ohio.

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[62] *Ibid.*, p. 667.
[63] *U. S. Senate Journal, 35th Congress, 2nd Session (1858-9)*, p. 278.
[64] *U. S. House Journal, 35th Congress, 2nd Session (1858-9)*, p. 437.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 501.
[66] *U. S. House Journal, 36th Congress, 1st Session (1859-60)*, p. 179.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 467.
[68] *U. S. House Journal, 37th Congress, 2nd Session (1861-2)*, p. 54.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 773.
[70] *U. S. Senate Journal, 37th Congress, 2nd Session (1861-2)*, p. 444.
[71] *Congressional Globe, 37th Congress, 2nd Session (1861-2)*, p. 2187.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 2625.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 2769.

VI. The erroneous date of the passage of the Land Grant Act of 1862.

The date of the signing of the Land Grant Act of 1862 has always been given as July 2, 1862. The bill was Senate Bill No. 298 passed by the Senate June 10, 1862,[74] by the House on June 17, 1862,[75] and on July 1, 1862, was enrolled and signed by the Speaker of the House.[76] The same day it was handed to the Senate Committee for delivery to President Lincoln[77] and later in the day the bill was presented to the President for his signature.[78] July 2, 1867, President Lincoln reported to the Senate that he had signed the bill on the 1st instant.[79] The Congressional Globe states that "a message from the President of the United States by Mr. Nicolay, his secretary, announced to the Senate that the President had approved and signed on the 1st Inst. the Act, Senate Bill No. 298, donating public lands to the several states and territories which may provide colleges for the benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts."[80]

The Land Grant Act, therefore, became a law on July 1, 1862, instead of July 2, 1862.

VII. The lack of information as to the number and variety of communities and agencies seeking control of the Land Grant Act benefits in Illinois.

There is little general information as to the number and variety of communities, institutions, and agencies in Illinois which sought the benefits of the Land Grant Act of 1862. The grant was accepted by Illinois on February 14, 1863,[81] and before the Illinois legislature had taken this action, an attempt was under way to secure the benefits of the federal grant. The various agencies seeking the funds were:

1. January 27, 1863, a memorial was read in the Illinois Senate seeking the federal grant for the benefit of Shurtleff College.[82]

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[74] *U. S. House Journal, 37th Congress, 2nd Session (1861-62)*, p. 836.
[75] *U. S. Senate Journal, 37th Congress, 2nd Session (1861-62)*, p. 663.
[76] *U. S. House Journal, 37th Congress, 2nd Session (1861-62)*, p. 960.
[77] *U. S. Senate Journal, 37th Congress, 2nd Session (1861-62)*, p. 738.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 740.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 750.
[80] *Congressional Globe, 37th Congress, 2nd Session (1861-62)*, p. 3062.
[81] *Illinois House Journal, 23rd Assembly (1863)*, p. 303, p. 638.
[82] *Illinois Senate Journal, 23rd Assembly (1863)*, p. 141.

2. February 10, 1863, a substitute for this first bill was called up proposing to establish two agricultural colleges, one in northern and one in southern Illinois.[83] It was generally known that these two colleges were to be attached to Shurtleff and Knox Colleges.

3. From the passage of the act accepting the grant in Illinois, the farmers' group which sponsored the Industrial League, furnished the plan for the Land Grant Act, and led the Illinois Agricultural Society, made every effort to secure the control of the bill and the grant, and in 1867 when the final location was made, was hard at work with a strong lobby and many political friends pledged to aid them.

4. Even before the passage of the Land Grant Act, the Champaign and Urbana newspapers were publishing editorials, and the citizens were holding meetings to urge an effort to try to secure the college when established. A letter was read at the Bloomington convention of friends of the university movement, June 27, 1859, stating that "citizens of Urbana would give large amounts toward the college if located there."[84] A mass meeting was held at Clokes Hall in Champaign on January 12, 1861, "for the purpose of adopting a form of charter and taking measures to secure the location of the State Agricultural College at this place."[85]

5. In July, 1864, Mr. Francis A. Eastman of Chicago proposed to split the fund for the college and benefit a school for mechanics to be located at Chicago. His proposal was made to Governor Yates and suggested the appointment of a "governor's committee" to study the plan and report on it.[86]

6. At a meeting of farmers at Springfield on December 6, 1864, the little Illinois Agricultural College at Irvington made an appeal to the farmers to try to shift the new funds to that institution.[87]

7. On December 21, 1864, President Sturtevant of Illinois College told J. B. Turner of his plan to bring the new university to his institution. He proposed to "fling the entire resources of this college into working harmony with the system

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 258.
[84] *Illinois Teacher*, Vol. VI. No. 7, July, 1860, p. 262.
[85] *Central Illinois Gazette*, Feb. 13, 1861.
[86] *Prairie Farmer*, Vol. XXX. No. 6, August 6, 1864, p. 84.
[87] *Ibid.*, No. 25, December 17, 1864, p. 385.

of the University."[88] At the meeting of college presidents in Chicago, in October, 1866, President Sturtevant was absent and not represented.

8. January 14, 1865, Mr. Mason read a bill in the Illinois Senate, for an act to establish three agricultural colleges in northern, central, and southern Illinois, to execute the trust created by the acceptance of the act of 1862.[89]

9. On February 6, 1865, the Board of Supervisors of Tazewell County met at Pekin and passed a resolution to make an offer of $100,000 for the establishment of the Agricultural College in Tazewell County.[90] A bill authorizing Tazewell County to sell bonds for this purpose was passed February 13, 1865.[91]

10. On February 10, 1865, the bill to locate the University at Champaign-Urbana was under consideration and an amendment was added to "establish a department of said University in the city of Chicago for the purpose of teaching the Mechanic Arts."[92]

11. The Chicago *Tribune* of January 23, 1866, announced that Jacksonville was expecting to make a bid for the Industrial University and that a meeting had been held to start the movement.[93]

The Jacksonville *Journal* had denied this in part on February 1, 1866, but admitted that Jacksonville should make such an effort.[94] In February, 1865, Jacksonville and Morgan County, led by Mr. J. B. Turner, began an earnest effort to secure the University.

12. The Buel Institute, a farmers' organization and interested in the Granville meeting of 1851, entered into the contest in July, 1866, by publishing certain proclamations claiming that since the plan for an agricultural college originated in the institute that it should take an important part in determining its final outcome.[95]

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[88] Turner Manuscripts, Urbana.
[89] *Chicago Tribune*, January 16, 1865.
[90] *Minutes of Board of Supervisors, Tazewell County*, Feb. 6, 1865, and Feb. 7, 1865, *Supervisors' Record B*, pp. 247-8.
[91] *Illinois Senate Journal, 24th General Assembly (1865)*, p. 380.
[92] *Illinois House Journal, 24th General Assembly (1865)*, p. 806.
[93] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 23, 1866.
[94] *Jacksonville Journal*, Feb. 1, 1866.
[95] *Prairie Farmer*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 2, July 14, 1866, p. 24; No. 5, August 4, 1866, p. 76.

13. The first of a series of meetings was held October 30, 1866, in the office of President J. C. Burroughs of the University of Chicago, the purpose of these meetings being to try to secure the benefits of the land grant act for the smaller colleges of the State. Representatives were present from Chicago, Wheaton, Augustana, McKendree, Lombard, Knox, Northwestern, Monmouth, and Eureka.[96] From this meeting came a movement which was a serious factor in the campaign of 1867 and which nearly secured a division of the fund among the small colleges.

14. At the December, 1866, meeting of the McLean County Board of Supervisors in Bloomington, Mr. J. W. Fell addressed the Board on December 1, giving facts in connection with the establishment of the Illinois Agricultural College and urging McLean County to take steps to secure the location.[97] This began the movement for Bloomington and McLean County.

15. The Chicago *Tribune,* on January 25, 1867, stated Doctor A. M. Miller was in Springfield from Logan County with an offer of $300,000 in cash for the Industrial University.[98] Lincoln and Logan County entered the contest by action of its city council and County Court.[99]

16. The Chicago *Tribune,* on February 7, 1867, mentioned rumors of an offer of $300,000 from Cass County,[101] but this offer was never made.

There were, therefore, at least fifteen different communities and agencies in Illinois at work trying to secure the benefits of the Land Grant Act of 1862. Kankakee has often been named as a strong contender but at no time in the campaign was there any mention of an offer from Kankakee. Mr. R. D. Harvey, of Danville, Illinois, son-in-law of the Honorable John L. Tincher who sponsored Champaign-Urbana's cause, informed the writer on October 1, 1930, that at one time Mr. Tincher considered making an effort to secure the University for Danville but gave up the idea in favor of Champaign

[96] *Chicago Tribune,* Oct. 31, 1866.
[97] *Record of McLean County Board of Supervisors,* Vol. B., p. 361.
[98] *Chicago Tribune,* Jan. 25, 1867.
[99] *Logan County Court Records,* Vol. II, p. 167; *Lincoln City Council Minutes,* Jan. 25, 1867, p. 315.
[101] *Chicago Tribune,* Feb. 7, 1867.

County. The Peoria *Transcript* urged Peoria "to go after the location" but no offer came from Peoria.[102]

VIII. The overestimations of amounts offered for the location of the University in 1867.

At the present time, more than sixty years after the founding of the Illinois Industrial University, many citizens of the four leading communities which bid for the University believe that their respective communities made the best offers for the University but were defeated by political chicanery. There seems to be little doubt that better offers were made than the Champaign County bid; it is also true that each community rated its own offer considerably above its actual value. The four counties which really made offers were Champaign, McLean, Morgan and Logan, headed respectively by Champaign-Urbana, Bloomington, Jacksonville, and Lincoln.

Joint House of Representatives and Senate committees were appointed February 7, 1867, to visit the various communities and report to the General Assembly "the assessed valuation and fair cash value of the property each offers as an inducement for the location of the Industrial University."[103] This committee reported on February 16, 1867, and made no recommendations.[104] The values reported by the committee were:

McLean County	$470,000
Logan County	385,000
Morgan County	315,000 plus
Illinois College	176,000 (but at that time Jacksonville did not have the authority to include Illinois College in its offer.)
Champaign County	285,000

These valuations were apparently fair and accurate but when compared with the valuations set by the counties and cities show great reductions. The Champaign offer, rated at $285,000, was actually increased to an estimated value of

[102] *Jacksonville Journal,* Nov. 22, 1866.
[103] *Illinois House Journal, (1867)* Vol. I, p. 832; p. 704.
[104] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 266.

$450,000 by a House Resolution passed February 18, 1867.[105] Champaign's offer was usually named as "several hundred thousand dollars."[106] The McLean County offer was rated by its own citizens at $500,000[107] to $550,000.[108] Morgan County gave its own rating at $735,000[109] to $750,000.[110] Logan County rated itself at $400,000[111] to $500,000.[112]

These self-assessed ratings show without much doubt the reasons for the current opinions. It is likely that the Lincoln offer assessed at $385,000 came nearer the actual value of $400,000 and was really the best offer. Certainly it was the simplest and most tangible. It was made up of $300,000 in land or county bonds, $50,000 in land or City of Lincoln bonds, and $50,000 in freight scrip of the Chicago and Alton Railroad.

IX. A concise outline of the various University Bills entered in the Illinois Legislature in 1867.

No clear and concise statement of the actual happenings in the Illinois Legislature in 1867 in regard to the location of the Industrial University has been made, and such a statement may clarify certain misunderstandings. Nine bills were introduced with varying success.

1. Mr. Fuller's Bill, Senate Bill No. 77, introduced January 10, 1867, providing for the organization, endowment, and maintenance of the Industrial University, which was the old farmers' bill for the location of the university by a commission.[113]

Taken up in the Senate January 16, 1867, action postponed until January 22, 1867.[114]

February 18, 1867—taken up and action postponed.[115]

No further mention of this bill.

2. Mr. Tincher's Senate Bill, No. 76, introduced January 10, 1867, a bill similar to Mr. Fuller's No. 77, except that Sec-

[105] *Ibid.*, p. 324.
[106] *Illinois Journal*, Jan. 11, 1867.
[107] *Bloomington Pantagraph*, Feb. 6, 1867.
[108] *Illinois Journal*, Feb. 15, 1867.
[109] *Record Book of Trustees of Illinois College*, Jacksonville, Vol. II, p. 37.
[110] *Bloomington Pantagraph*, Feb. 9, 1867.
[111] *Minutes of City Council of Lincoln*, Feb. 9, 1867, Vol. I, pp. 321-25.
[112] *Bloomington Pantagraph*, Feb. 9, 1867.
[113] *Illinois Senate Journal, 25th Assembly (1867)*, p. 71.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 125.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 806.

tion 11 specifically located the University at Champaign and Urbana.[116]

January 25, 1867, referred to the special committee of five.[117]

No further mention.

3. Mr. Fuller's Senate Bill, No. 101, introduced January 11, 1867, defining the duties of the Commissioners to locate the University.[118]

January 25, 1867—referred to the special committee of five.[119]

No further mention.

4. Mr. Fuller's Senate Bill No. 102, introduced January 11, 1867, an act enabling communities to tax themselves to raise funds to be offered for the location of the University.[120]

January 16, 1867—passed by the Senate.[121]

January 22, 1867—passed by the House.[122]

January 25, 1867—signed by the Governor.[123]

5. Mr. Eastman's Senate Bill No. 107, introduced January 11, 1867, providing for the organization of the Chicago Polytechnic College as a beneficiary of the Congressional Land Grant Act.[124]

January 16, 1867—Tabled.[125]

No further mention.

6. Mr. Grigg's House Bill, No. 70, introduced January 11, 1867, and identical with Mr. Tincher's Senate Bill No. 76, definitely locating the University at Champaign-Urbana.[126]

February 20, 1867—passed by the House.[127]

February 25, 1867—passed by the Senate.[128]

February 26, 1867—signed by the Governor.[129]

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[116] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[117] *Ibid.*, p. 194.
[118] *Ibid.*, p. 791.
[119] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[122] *House Journal (1867)*, Vol. I, p. 227.
[123] *Ibid.*, p. 509.
[124] *Ill. Senate Journal (1867)*, p. 80.
[125] *Ibid.*, p. 122.
[126] *Illinois House Journal (1867)*, Vol. I, p. 91.
[127] *Jacksonville Journal*, Feb. 21, 1867.
[128] *Illinois Senate Journal (1867)*, p. 1051.
[129] *Illinois House Journal (1867)*, Vol. II, p. 451.

7. Mr. Baldwin's House Bill No. 8, introduced January 11, 1867. Identical with Mr. Fuller's Senate Bill No. 77, to locate by commission.[130]

January 15, 1867—referred to Committee on Agriculture.[131].

No further mention.

8. Mr. Baldwin's House Bill No. 229, introduced January 12, 1867, an enabling act identical with Mr. Fuller's Senate Bill No. 102.[132]

Ordered printed after two readings.[133]

9. Mr. Ward's Senate Bill No. 314, introduced January 23, 1867, similar to Mr. Eastman's bill for a Chicago branch of the University.[134]

January 24, 1867—referred to the Special committee of five.[135]

No further mention.

Of the nine bills offered, only two succeeded: Mr. Fuller's bill enabling communities to tax themselves to raise funds to offer for the location of the University, and Mr. Griggs' bill to organize, endow, and maintain the University and to locate it at Champaign-Urbana.

X. The charges of dishonesty against Champaign County.

Many stories have been related of the dishonest practices of Champaign County in securing the location of the Illinois Industrial University. It is evident that Champaign County spent a considerable sum in maintaining a lobby, but just how much money, if any, was spent dishonestly can never be proved. It is also evident that Morgan County raised a fund for which no accounting is available, and that Champaign County's success was largely due to the activities of a clever politician, C. R. Griggs.

Champaign County was accused of bribing legislators and newspapers, and the largest amount mentioned by any critic was $50,000, but there is nothing to substantiate this amount.[136]

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[130] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 82.
[131] *Ibid.*, p. 158.
[132] *Ibid.*, p. 122.
[133] *Ibid.*, p. 122.
[134] *Illinois Senate Journal (1867)*, p. 163.
[135] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[136] Turner Manuscripts, Urbana.

The Champaign County Board of Supervisors in session on December 19, 1864, after a long discussion of the possibility of securing the proposed agricultural college to occupy the Champaign and Urbana Institute built between the two towns, voted that "The County Treasurer be . . . authorized to have issued by the clerk of the County Court, $5,000 in county orders . . . and pay the same to the several members of the committee authorized to visit Springfield to aid in securing the location of the State Agricultural College in this county. . . . Each member shall report to said Treasurer the manner and amount in which said sum has been used."[137]

The Chicago *Tribune* of January 24, 1865, stated that "The Champaign Committee have opened up a chebang in Springfield. . . The members are very generally invited to visit this chebang and undergo such manipulations as they will tolerate with equanimity. . . "[138] Apparently the Champaign Committee lost no time in beginning operations.

At the January, 1866, meeting of the Board of Supervisors in Champaign County, it was moved that the 1865 delegates make an accounting of the funds given to them.[139]

The cities of Champaign and Urbana made additional appropriations for the campaign. November 19, 1866, the Champaign City Council voted to give $300.00[140] and Urbana voted to appropriate $200.00 on the same day.[141] A few days later on December 4, 1866, the Board of Supervisors voted another $5,000 to the committee instructing them to spend it "cautiously and judiciously."[142]

After the campaign was over and the University was secured for Champaign County, a report was made to the Board of Supervisors on April 23, 1867. The report showed that the 1867 Committee had received $5,000 from Champaign County, $2,000 from citizens of Champaign, and $1,000 from citizens of Urbana. "After spending the above sum. . . it was deemed best to increase our bid and it was emphatically stated to the committee by various parties at Springfield that only a

[137] *Proceedings of Champaign County Board of Supervisors,* Vol. 3, p., 331.
[138] *Chicago Tribune,* Jan. 24, 1865.
[139] *Central Ill. Gazette,* Jan. 5, 1866.
[140] *Champaign City Council Minutes,* November 19, 1866
[141] *Urbana City Council Minutes,* Nov. 19, 1866.
[142] *Record of Champaign County Board of Supervisors,* Vol. III, p. 488.

certain amount of valuable assistance would secure this great boon to Champaign County . . . we were induced to borrow with our own names an additional $12,500 . . . being assured by citizens of both towns that appropriations would be made to reimburse us. . . We hereby certify that the aforesaid sums were judiciously and cautiously expended for the purpose of securing the location of the Illinois Industrial University in Champaign County and for none other," and this report was adopted by the Supervisors.[143] This is the only official accounting on the county record books. The $500 subscribed by Champaign and Urbana cities was given to C. R. Griggs and used in his December, 1866, campaign and an equally indefinite report of its expenditure was accepted.[144]

How all this money was spent will probably never be known. It is evident that Champaign maintained an expensive suite of rooms in a Springfield hotel throughout the legislative assembly of 1867 and that a large committee of Champaign county citizens were always present. Judge J. O. Cunningham of Urbana, a man of high character and standing, has stated that "he was at Springfield throughout the campaign and in a position to be informed and he denies any and all charges of fraud and corruption on the part of any one authorized to act for the county of Champaign."[145]

Two documents exist which suggest an element of corruption on the part of Jacksonville and Morgan County. One is a subscription list dated 1867, on which "We, the undersigned, agree to pay the sums set against our names . . . to do whatever is needful to be done to secure the location of the State University for this county." The list totals nearly $1500.[146] The other is a letter signed by Henry E. Dummer of Jacksonville asking for credit of seven dollars for expenses of a trip to Springfield, April 2, 1867, and to be charged against his subscription.[147]

Regardless of the charges against Champaign County, it is likely that the Chicago *Tribune* of March 6, 1867, printed a

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[143] *Ibid.*, p. 504.
[144] *Champaign City Council Minutes*, July 13, 1867.
[145] Cunningham Manuscript, Urbana.
[146] Turner Manuscript, Urbana.
[147] *Ibid.*

statement which comes nearest the truth of all the statements made. This statement in part was:

In the late Illinois Legislature . . . much has been said of dishonesty, of bribery, and direct interest in steals, but charges have been more easily made than substantiated, and it may be pretty safely averred that at least no disgraceful petty swindling has been indulged in. All which has been done has been effected by a ring. Even before the opening of the session, one of the largest subjects to come before the General Assembly had been so thoroughly and ably canvassed by private interviews with legislators, that the number of votes to be ultimately cast in its favor had been determined to within 3. In order to achieve this end, the location of the Agricultural College or Industrial University as it has been termed at Champaign, it was found necessary to link it with another scheme of equal magnitude, namely the proposed canal improvement, and to strengthen these, the new state house swindle, the Southern penitentiary swindle, and the lease of the Joliet penitentiary were all joined in one ring, clustered together like a bunch of grapes. The friends of each measure were generously pledged to all the rest. If the state house swindle is left out of the account, the ring did more good than evil, but aside from the issue of the benefit or harm resultant from its action, it must be said that consummate generalship was exhibited in more than one instance in the reconciliation of conflicting interests and parliamentary engineering which in the end carried through successfully all those associated.

The prime minister in the weaving of the tangled web was undoubtedly a man in the Manual as "Clark R. Griggs, farmer, Massachusetts." . . . . . Mr. Griggs employed some two months before the opening of the session in traveling over the state, visiting the members, and setting the pins for the location of the Industrial University at Champaign, so that when the business of the general assembly was commenced, already the hardest and worst of his work was over, and with this excellent support, he was able to give in the House, he was enabled to achieve what at the previous session was deemed almost a hopeless task.[148]

The fact which comes out of all this is that regardless of unproved charges of corruption against Champaign County, and Morgan County, too, the real credit for the accomplishment of what was done should be given to Mr. C. R. Griggs of Champaign for his remarkable political ability.

[148] *Chicago Tribune,* March 6, 1867.

XI. The overemphasis placed on the part of John M. Gregory in organizing the curriculum for the Illinois Industrial University.

Following the location of the Illinois Industrial University in Champaign County in 1867, the election of a Board of Trustees, and the selection of the first Regent, John M. Gregory, one of the most important tasks was the organization of the curriculum for the new institution. Miss Gregory in her biography of her father gives practically the entire credit for this function to her father. At least two other individuals should be mentioned in this connection, Willard C. Flagg and M. L. Dunlap, both members of the first Board of Trustees of the institution.

Willard C. Flagg was a member of the committee of the Board of Trustees appointed April 3, 1867, to prepare a course of study.[149] He was a Yale graduate, a man of liberal education, and at the same time a successful farmer. Documents in Mr. Flagg's handwriting show the course which he outlined, including a well organized plan for agricultural and mechanical subjects.[150] Mr. Gregory planned the classical side of the curriculum but the practical subjects were outlined by Mr. Flagg. Furthermore, during the first years of the University's existence, Mr. Flagg was constantly reporting on the curriculum and recommending changes which would bring it into the better graces of the people of the State. He published articles in the newspapers and *Prairie Farmer,* carried on a voluminous correspondence with friends and enemies of the University, and by 1871 had attained most of his objectives in regard to the course of study. In December, 1867, he circularized the State seeking agricultural statistics, samples of products, in fact, specimens of all kinds of value to the institution.[151] On March 12, 1870, he wrote to J. B. Turner, "I think we are drifting in the right direction about as fast as practicable."[152] The part of Mr. Flagg was always constructive, and unquestionably of great importance.

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[149] Turner Manuscripts, Springfield.
[150] Flagg Manuscripts.
[151] Flagg Manuscripts.
[152] Turner Manuscripts, Springfield.

M. L. Dunlap proceeded in an entirely different style. He was the downstate correspondent for the Chicago *Tribune* writing over the name "Rural" and from 1867 to 1870, when the University really began to receive the support of the State, his writings were almost constantly violent criticisms of the University, its teachers, and semi-classical courses of study. His purposes were sincere, for he wanted the University to be truly an industrial affair and he undoubtedly succeeded in his objective. Sample letters from "Rural's" writings show how viciously he attacked the whole situation.

On December 18, 1867, he rapped the Trustees. "If the people of this state were ever astounded, it was when the board overlooked the practically educated men of our state . . . . the great mistake was in the selection of a Regent. . . They did provide for the purchase of a collection of fossils . . . of a defunct classical school."[153] He continued by objecting to the teaching, the course of instruction, the power of the Regent, and the Executive Committee, and the requirements for admission.

On August 5, 1868, Mr. Dunlap anticipated the opening of the new college year by pointing out certain agricultural problems which the University might solve. "Here is a fine opportunity for the Industrial University to take an active part . . . and I think it is disposed to do so."[154]

His letter of September 30, 1868, was encouraging. He believed "that the University has now entered upon a career of usefulness that will be most gratifying to the people of the state. The errors of the beginning are rapidly disappearing."[155] But on November 4, 1868, he was disgusted and found that "the institution presents a most singular anomaly, a school for the industries in the hands of the learned professions."[156]

On March 3, 1869, he aimed an outburst at the faculty. "We have had enough of quackery in the subject of agricultural education. Let us have a few grams of good common sense. If the legislature has a desire to aid, then let them put

[153] *Chicago Tribune,* December 18, 1857.
[154] *Ibid.,* Aug. 5, 1868.
[155] *Ibid.,* Sept. 30, 1868.
[156] *Ibid.,* November 4, 1868.

this school in the hands of those for whom it was designed instead . . . of clergymen, lawyers, and doctors, who know little of the real wants . . ."[157]

It was not until after January, 1871, when J B. Turner made his first visit to the University, that Mr. Dunlap was finally satisfied with the progress that had been made. He became a friend and his criticisms disappeared.

Mr. Flagg accomplished his objects quietly and without publicity, while Mr. Dunlap was sharp-tongued and open. Both did much to shape the course of study into the form which pleased the people of the State, and both deserve far more credit than they have been accorded.

XII. The mistaken belief that Regent Peabody secured the first appropriations from the State for the University

Selim H. Peabody was the second Regent of the University, succeeding Regent J. M. Gregory in 1881. There is a common belief that Regent Peabody was the first President of the University to secure any appropriations from the State for the University. This is not true; it is true that he was the first to secure an appropriation to be used in the costs of instruction but Regent Gregory was able to secure some help every biennium during his Regency with one exception, in 1873. The records show the following:

1869—$60,000 which included $25,000 for agriculture, $20,000 for horticulture, $5,000 for chemistry, and $10,000 for improvements.[158]

1871—$125,000 including $75,000 for a new main building, $25,000 for a drill hall and shop building, and the balance for equipment and improvements.[159]

1873—No state aid.

1875—$11,500 over half of this for taxes out of the state.[160]

1877—$69,000, $30,000 for a chemistry laboratory and $10,000 for a green house, the remainder for equipment and repairs.[161]

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[157] *Ibid.*, Mar. 3, 1869.
[158] *Public Laws of Illinois (1869)*, p. 33.
[159] *Ibid. (1871)*, p. 142.
[160] *Ibid. (1875)*, p. 13.
[161] *Ibid. (1877)*, p. 17.

1879—$22,500, mostly in repairs and improvements.[162] This was the last appropriation under Regent Gregory.

1881—$43,000, including $11,400 to be used for instruction.[163]

These figures are self-evident. State appropriations were made under Regent Gregory but not for instruction; funds to pay for this were first obtained under Regent Peabody in 1881.

CONCLUSIONS.

This paper should correct the most important misconceptions in regard to the early history of the University of Illinois, namely:

1. The Illinois Industrial University existed until June 19, 1885, when its name was changed to the University of Illinois by action of the legislature.

2. The University of Illinois was not the first state supported institution of higher learning in Illinois; the Illinois State Normal University was the first, founded February 18, 1857.

3. The Granville convention of November 18, 1851, was not the beginning of the movement for the Land Grant Act. Such an act was not contemplated at the meeting. The first mention of the plan was published in the March, 1852, issue of the *Prairie Farmer*.

4. Jonathan Baldwin Turner, although a leading advocate of industrial education, was not the originator of the idea.

5. Mr. J. S. Morrill did not originate the Land Grant Act, nor did he ever introduce the bill which was passed, as it was introduced by Senator B. F. Wade of Ohio.

6. The date of the passage of the Land Grant Act was July 1, 1862, instead of July 2, 1862.

7. Instead of four communities, usually mentioned, which tried to secure the location of the state university, there were at least fifteen communities and agencies trying to secure the location or control of the funds for the University.

8. The true amounts offered for the location of the University were much smaller than evaluated by the communities themselves.

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[162] *Ibid. (1879)*, p. 30.
[163] *Ibid. (1881)*, p. 30.

9. The Griggs Bill which Illinois adopted locating the University in Champaign County in 1867, was manipulated through a maze of similar bills, all the others being rejected or allowed to die in committees.

10. The charges of graft and dishonesty against Champaign County in securing the location of the University in 1867 have never been proved nor can they be. Jacksonville and Morgan county are not entirely free from suspicion of dishonesty and the real success of the Champaign effort should be accredited to C. R. Griggs, who was clever enough to secure the location for his home, by the use of a clever "political ring."

11. The entire credit for the establishment of the course of study in the new University should not go to the first Regent, J. M. Gregory. W. C. Flagg and M. L. Dunlap were actively involved in the formation of the curriculum.

12. While Regent Peabody was the first Regent to secure state appropriations for the University for instruction in 1881, Regent Gregory was able to secure some funds for buildings, equipment and improvements for every biennial period during his regency except 1873-1875.

In conclusion it must be said that there have been many misconceptions in regard to the early history of the University of Illinois. It is reasonable that such mistaken ideas should arise, considering the involved nature of the establishment of the University. This paper does not include all of these errors, but should answer many of the most important questions in regard to it.

THE BLACK HAWK WAR, 1831-1832

By John H. Hauberg*

At the outskirts of Black Hawk's old village at the junction of Rock River with the Mississippi was assembled a lively crowd of volunteer soldiers who had come on horseback across the virgin prairies from a score of counties of southern and southeastern Illinois. They had marched here from Oquawka on May 7th, 1832, and on the day following had been sworn into service of the United States by General Henry Atkinson of the Regular Army.

General Atkinson's force of regulars, up from Jefferson Barracks with a detachment under Col. Zachary Taylor down from Fort Crawford, lay in camp at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, and on May 10th the entire body, both volunteers and regulars, started up Rock River in pursuit of Black Hawk and his rebellious followers—the volunteers following the Indian trail, while the regulars proceeded up the swift current on barges which carried also the main supply of food and munitions. Before the close of that day the first hostilities of the Black Hawk War, the burning of the Winnebago village at Prophetstown, had passed into history.

The honor, if such it was, of giving an unmistakable sign of the intention of the white man toward the Indians belongs to the Illinois volunteers, for the regulars found the going slow up-river and were still some thirty miles below Prophetstown when this first overt act of war took place.

Four days later, at Stillman's Run, another command of Illinois volunteers came into a fight with a party of braves under Black Hawk in person with a result that staggered the country with the possibilities of a general uprising of the

* In the preparation of this paper I have been greatly aided by the Wisconsin Historical Society, the Missouri State Historical Society and the Archives Division of the State of Illinois. I am particularly indebted to Miss Margaret C. Norton, Chief of that Division, for copies of documents in her custody.—J. H. H.

Indians, for Black Hawk won a decisive victory, killing eleven soldiers and driving the survivors, utterly demoralized, before him.

Another six days, and fifteen whites were surprised and massacred, on Indian Creek, near Ottawa, and two young ladies were carried off by the Indians to be held for ransom. This glaring act confirmed the alarm over Stillman's Run, and not only the whites but the Indians of the Upper Mississippi and Great Lakes territory were aroused to a state of great excitement.

Governor John Reynolds called for an additional 2,000 Illinoians;[1] the State of Missouri called for a thousand, Indiana and Michigan men organized and held drills preparatory to taking to the field. One company from near Detroit actually began the march cross-country to the scene of hostilities.

The regulars from Fort Armstrong, Jefferson Barracks and Fort Crawford were already in the field. Others soon joined them from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, while Fort Dearborn at Chicago, Fort Snelling at St. Paul and Fort Winnebago at Portage, Wisconsin, were of course scenes of activity. The time called for concentration of the regular forces, and on June 16th President Jackson sent out a call for soldiers to proceed to the scene of action from Baton Rouge, La., from Fort Brady at Sault Sainte Marie; Fort Mackinac and Fort Gratiot, the latter located near Port Huron, Michigan; from Fort Niagara, N. Y., Fort Columbus located on Governor's Island in the harbor of New York City, and from Fortress Monroe, Va. Brevet Major General Winfield Scott was ordered to assume command of the forces and direct the operations against the hostile Indians.

There was reason for concerted action. The time was ripe for an armed contest between the two races. The whites had been coming up into this Indian wilderness in ever-increasing numbers. They had overrun the Galena-Dubuque lead mining district regardless of Indian rights;[2] were laying out roads, establishing ferries and making settlements within boundaries still occupied by the red man. It was impossible

[1] Reynolds, *My Own Times*, p. 235.
[2] Edwards, *The Edwards Papers*, p. 313.

for the two to live together. They looked upon life and the means of a livelihood from widely different systems. Each held the other in contempt. Daily the situation was becoming more intolerable. This was true of all the tribes in Illinois—not only with regard to the Sauk and Fox whose war chief was Black Hawk.

Nor was all the fault on the side of the white man. Gov. Ninian Edwards had called attention to the fact that the Indians residing on ceded lands within the State, the Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, Ottaways and Chippeways of the Illinois River, and the Sacs and Foxes[3] roamed the State as hunters, annoyed the settlers, killed their domestic animals and proved themselves a general nuisance. In 1827 the chief offenders were the Winnebagoes and Pottawatomies in what was known as the Winnebago War, and Governor Edwards made an effort to interest the general government in expelling all those Indians residing on ceded lands in Illinois, writing in that strain to General William Clark, Indian Agent, residing at St. Louis, to President Adams, and repeatedly to the Secretary of War, all it appears with little satisfaction. The Indians were permitted to continue as they were. The situation was to continue until it became intolerable; until one side or the other should begin open warfare on the other. Meanwhile Fort Dearborn at Chicago was re-garrisoned, and a new post called Fort Winnebago was built at Fox-Wisconsin Portage as a further check on threatened hostilities.

In the Winnebago War several whites had been killed; General Atkinson had come up from Jefferson Barracks with several hundred regulars, and Governor Edwards had had a large party of Illinois Rangers traversing the northern part of the State. The "wildest panic" took place about the lead mines of the Galena district where in two days time 3,000 men, women and children fled for safety, while at the town of Chicago the greatest alarm was felt also because of the attitude of the Pottawatomies. Black Hawk was believed to have been one of the guiding spirits in behalf of the Winnebagoes. Said a writer of the affair of 1827: "It may be thought that the results of this war are very meagre for the

[3] Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833*, p. 355

amount of force employed in it. If measured by the amount of blood shed after the murders at Prairie du Chien and on the keel-boat, the criticism is very correct. But, if it be intended to suggest that there was no sufficient reason for apprehending that the Winnebagoes contemplated a general uprising against and a massacre of the whites, the thought and suggestion are the result of great ignorance of the intentions of the Winnebagoes, and of the facts in the case. There is a satisfactory evidence that the Pottawatomies were allied with the Winnebagoes, and that they were to fall upon and destroy the settlement at Chicago, and it is probable that but for the movements resulting from the efforts of Gov. Cass, who was fortunately near the seat of war, the whole country would have been overrun with a general Indian outbreak."[4]

Carrying the situation to our next neighbors to the north —the Sioux—we will quote Schoolcraft who wrote at about this time as follows: "Disturbing causes are now in operation, which must, in a few years, be severely felt. . . . above all, the call for new cessions of land. The great Dakota race, barbarians in manners, and intent on hunting alone, must soon leave the banks of the Mississippi; they will, if they follow the example of other Indian Nations, turn and fight first."[5]

We are not attempting here to draw the reader's attention from the guilt of the Sauk and Fox Indians who precipitated the Black Hawk War of 1831 and 1832, but are showing a general Indian situation which was favorable to Black Hawk's cause; which gave the Sauk war chief distinct encouragement, making it appear that with but little effort, all the disaffected tribes could be united in a common front against white intruders.

The relations between Black Hawk's people and the garrison at Fort Armstrong were for many years exemplary. "The Sakies informed me that the best intelligence existed between them and the garrison of Fort Armstrong and hoped it would always remain so. This I found to be true from

[4] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XIV., p. 69.
[5] *Minnesota Historical Collections*, I., p. 132.

the Commanding Officer." So wrote Thomas Forsythe, Indian Agent to the Sauk and Fox in a letter dated July 2, 1818. In 1820 the same good feeling was reported, the Sauk and Fox sympathizing over the two soldiers of Fort Armstrong killed by the Winnebagoes; and in a letter dated June 13, 1820, Forsythe says that in his opinion if 300 or 400 white men should be sent against the Winnebagoes for committing those murders, the force of whites would be accompanied by as many Sauk and Fox if a call were made on them. It should be remembered that these Indians and the garrison were close neighbors. Fort Armstrong was located on Rock Island, an island in the Mississippi; a Fox village stood opposite the fort on the Illinois side of the river, with Black Hawk's Sauk village adjoining the latter, but facing Rock River which here enters the larger stream.

While the local situation as between the two races was excellent, there was constant friction between the whites who had settled on the old hunting grounds of the Sauk and Fox on the west side of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Missouri River and northwards. The land lying between the mouths of the two rivers and the River Des Moines was especially in dispute, and Black Hawk, with chiefs and braves, under date of September 14, 1821, petitioned the President to intercede for them, saying: "We see every day some of your white children settling on our lands, and they are now settled up to and near the mouth of River de Moine—We hope you will not forget us, but take away everything from before our eyes, so that we may see clear and know what we own. We shake hands and smoke with our Agent hoping some of the smoke may reach you as also the Great Spirit." In a letter dated at Fort Armstrong, Sept. 23, 1823, Agent Forsythe says: "The Chiefs of the Sauk and Fox Nations of Indians have importuned me much during the last two summers about their lands. They have said that they think I never forwarded their letter to the President dated Sept. 14, 1821, because, they say their Great Father the President is too good a friend to his red children, not to listen to their complaints. . . . I should be happy that the business of the land in question was put to rest as there are seldom a council that I have with

the Indians but some one of the Chiefs complain of this affair." The land in question was many miles from the Capital Village where the Sauk and Fox held forth, at Rock Island, but their anxiety about it indicates the persistence with which these Indians held to what they regarded as their own. In 1828 a number of whites settled along the Mississippi some 15 miles above Rock Island, at what is now Port Byron, Illinois. We find no complaint against the new white neighbors, probably because it was conceded that they were north of the line drawn from the southern bend of Lake Michigan, west to the Mississippi and therefore it was country which had been ceded by the United States to the Chippeways, Ottaways and Pottawatomies.

The year 1829 opens the new chapter—the chapter of bloodshed which closed with the battle of Bad Axe, in 1832, for it was the year the first whites settled in the midst of Black Hawk's own village. At last the worst had come. The Indians were absent on their winter's hunt at the time of the arrival of the whites but word soon reached them. "I started immediately for Rock River, a distance of ten days' travel," writes Black Hawk, "and on my arrival found the report true. I went to my lodge and found a family occupying it. I wished to talk to them but they could not understand me. I then went to Rock Island; the Agent being absent I told the Interpreter what I wanted to say to these people, viz: not to settle on our lands, nor trouble our fences, that there was plenty of land in the country for them to settle upon, and they must leave our village, as we were coming back to it in the spring."[6] Of this occurrence Judge John W. Spencer, one of the newly arrived settlers, says:[7] "We were here but a few days when two Indians came—the first we had seen. One of them commenced talking in a loud voice in the Indian language, of which we could not understand a word. By pointing to the wigwam saying 'Saukie Wigeop,' then pointing to the ground saying 'Saukie aukie,' and repeating this many times, we understood he claimed the land and wigwam belonged to the Indians. This man proved to be Black Hawk."

[6] Black Hawk, *Autobiography*, p. 77.
[7] Spencer, John W., *Reminiscences*, p. 20.

The situation at the local agency is so well described in a letter of the Indian Agent, Forsythe, to General William Clark, that we will include the entire missive here as follows:

Rocky Island 22nd May 1829

Sirs,

I have to acquaint you that I was visited yesterday by all the principal Sauk Indians now at their village on Rocky River (Keocuck and principal Braves excepted) on the subject of their Land where their village is on Rocky River.

Three Sauk Indians spoke very fiercely on the subject and said the land was theirs, that they never sold the land: that this land contained the bones of their ancestors, and would not give it up:—that they had defended it against all your power during the late War, and would again defend it as long as they existed:—that they had formed an alliance with the Chippaways, Ottoways, Pottowatomies, Kickapoos and Menomonies who were ready to assist them at any time in defending their country against any force whatever. A number of Chippeways, Ottoways and Pottowatomies with some few Kickapoos were present and assented to what the Sauk Indians had said. Keocuck with some of his Braves were on the Island at the time of the Council, and told my Interpreter after all was over that the Sauks who spoke did not know what they were saying, which was the reason he would have nothing to do with their talk.

It appears that Yesterday some of the Settlers commenced ploughing up a patch of ground belonging to a Sauk Indian (who stands next to Keocuck among the Braves) when on seeing the whites ploughing his ground he wished to prevent them, telling them he was going to plant his corn there himself. One of the white men struck him with a bean pole and drove him away:—This is only the beginning of more serious consequences which must happen when the Indians get any whiskey during the summer months from below.

I have done every thing in my power to get the Indians to remove to their own Lands: but the Black Hawk with a few others are the Indians who are making all this fuss. The stabbing Chief Pishkenawnee and all the influential Indians have gone to their own country during last month to a new village, and there are some going daily from Rocky River.—Those who have planted corn will remain and they will be few in number to the whole population of the Sack's.—

23d, Keocuck called on me this afternoon alone, and told me that the Indians now at Rocky River did not like him, and his intention was to go down to the Ioway River to reside but that the head chiefs who are now at Ioway River

directed him to remain at Rocky River to keep things in order if possible and that he must obey the chiefs, otherwise him and those of his family now here, would have been at their new village at Ioway River long since. That he had succeeded in preventing two partisans (who have been fasting for the last winter) from going to war.

Keocuck appears to be much dejected, from his chiefs compelling him to stay at Rocky River, as part of his large family is already at Ioway River. Indeed he sees the necessity that the Indians should abandon their old village at Rocky River and live on their own Lands.

Respectfully I remain,
Your Ob't Serv't
Thomas Forsyth

Genl. William Clark
Supt. Ind: Affairs
St. Louis.

The year 1830 passed like the one before it, in grief and quarreling: in misery for both whites and Indians. But "In 1831 came a new era in our history," says Judge Spencer.[8] "The Indians returned in large numbers, perhaps as many as in 1829, and with quite a different spirit towards the whites. Black Hawk gave the settlers to understand that after this season they must go south of Rock River, or above Pleasant Valley."

Black Hawk was the busiest of men. He called repeatedly at the log cabins of the intruders warning them to leave. He consulted the agents to the Sauk and Fox and the Winnebagoes. He sounded out the Winnebago prophet, for like his white brethren of old, he had faith in the gift of prophecy. His appeals to the interpreter at Fort Armstrong, Antoine LeClaire, and the trader George Davenport were unavailing as was an earnest appeal to Ex-Governor Coles who visited the fort. He sent a delegation to the Wabash to consult a great chief there and was sent the same advice which Black Hawk himself had been given by his British friends on his visit to Fort Malden, at Amherstsburg, Ontario. Then he visited Detroit to see "The Great Chief" with the same result, viz: That if the Indians had not sold their land no one could drive them from it. He appealed to his bitter enemy, Keokuk,

[8] Spencer, John W., *Reminiscences*, p. 24.

requesting him to try to make a trade of their lead mines for these village grounds. Fearing that when intoxicated, his men would commit murder, he prohibited the whites from selling whiskey about his village. One of them continued the sale openly whereupon the war chief and a party of his men visited the cabin, and poured his supply—35 gallons of the fire water— upon the ground.[9] Meanwhile Black Hawk's followers were not idle. A large armed party of them circled the home of one settler, telling him if he did not leave he and his family would be killed. At another place the farmer was driven from his land at the point of a gun. Still another had his clothes slashed in an encounter with an Indian. Horses, steers, hogs and dozens of chickens were stolen from the whites as also wheat, corn, potatoes, flour and clothing. One settler claimed they had burned 1500 fence rails on his place, another that 250 of the Indians' horses had been turned into his wheat field, totally ruining it.

So well is the state of affairs between the Indians and the settlers at this time set forth in a number of depositions made in the fall of 1831 that we will include here, in full, one such statement which is a fair example of all of them. The deponent, Jonah H. Case, was a highly respectable citizen, and one of the first to settle within the borders of Black Hawk's village. The Rock Island County Historical Society is in possession, through the kindness of a descendant of Mr. Case, of a tomahawk or "Pipe-Axe" which Black Hawk presented to Mr. Case in token of satisfaction and friendship because Mr. Case had dealt fairly with the war Chief. The deposition is as follows:[10]

State of Illinois Jo Daviss County

Jonah H. Case of the County of Jo Daviss and State of Illinois being sworn states that he settled on the Mississippi River south of Fort Armstrong below the Indian Boundary line in January Eighteen Hundred and twenty nine and has resided at the same place ever since. In the fall of Eighteen Hundred and Twenty nine George Davenport and Russell Farnham purchased for the deponent at the Land Sales in

[9] Deposition of Joshua Vandruff; Archives Division, Springfield, Ill.
[10] Original in Archives Division, Springfield, Ill.

Springfield, two Quarter Sections of Land or the south half of section two in Township Number seventeen North, Range number two West, being the land on which he had previously settled. In the spring of the year Eighteen Hundred and thirty one the said Davenport and Farnham conveyed the said land to the deponent, as they bound themselves to do at the time of the purchase,—In the year 1829 the deponent built a log Dwelling House on the Land and enclosed about sixty acres for cultivation, about thirty acres of which he broke and cultivated the same year—In 1830 the deponent cultivated about twenty acres of the land enclosed as aforesaid. In the spring of 1830 the Sauk and Fox Indians belonging to Black Hawk's Band took forcible possession of about thirty acres of the ground enclosed, and cultivated the same against the will and consent of the deponent, they kept the possession until they gathered their crop in the fall, and then went off Hunting. The deponent then took possession of all the ground enclosed, and remained in possession until the spring of the year Eighteen Hundred and Thirty one. In the month of April, 1831, the Indians returned from their Hunt, a part of them took possession of all the ground enclosed by the deponent except about seventeen acres which they permitted him to occupy, they commenced working the ground and planted it in corn, beans, etc. The deponent objected to the Indians occupying his land in 1830 and endeavored to get them to leave it, but they obstinately refused. In 1831 he again objected and informed the Indians that he had purchased the land from the United States and that they had no right to occupy it, he went with them to the Indian Interpreter and got the Interpreter to tell them that he had purchased the Land of the United States, and that they had no right to occupy it,—in the spring of 1831 the deponent informed a Chief called "Bad Thunder" that the Indians must not come inside of his fence or enclosure—the Chief replied that the white people had stole the Land from them and that they *would* come and raise corn. Shortly after this three Chiefs, one called Black Hawk, one called Black Thunder, and another whose name is not recollected, came to the House of the deponent, and told him that he had stolen their land, but he might remain until fall and gather his crop, but he must move in the fall off of the Land. The deponent informed them that the White People would drive them off, they said "The White People are Liars." "The White People had said they would drive the Indians off for two years before and had not done so"—The Indians continued in possession of the Land of the deponent until they were driven off by the troops the last of June 1831. The deponent was ac-

quainted with most of the Indians belonging to Black Hawk's Band and those residing at the lower village on Rock River, he conversed with many of them in the spring of 1831, all of them said that they were determined to take possession of their old village occupied by the white people, that they would drive off the whites, several of them stated that they were able to whip and kill all the white people on the Frontier, and when deponent informed them that more white people would come, they said deponent was a *Liar*.

In the month of April and May, 1831, the Indians took possession of the farms occupied by George Davenport,—Rinnah Wells, Joshua Vandruff, Benjamin Kerr and William T. Brashar, as well as that of the deponent, against the consent of the owners, they planted corn and beans within the enclosures, they pulled down the fences of several of the citizens and turned their horses into wheat fields, and destroyed the wheat, there were upwards of twenty five acres of wheat growing within the enclosure of Mr. Davenport, the wheat belonged to the deponent and two other persons, on which the Indians kept their horses several weeks in the months of April and May 1831.

Messrs. Brashar, Wells and Vandruff each had wheat growing on their farms and the Indians broke the enclosures and pastured their Horses on the wheat and permitted the stock of the whites to go into the fields and destroy the wheat.—

In the spring of the year 1831 there was about seven hundred Indians removed to and took possession of the old village near the mouth of Rock River, of that number there was about three hundred effective warriors, the deponent lived in the upper end of old village, and in sight of the places occupied by the Indians, he saw the Indians every day and had a good opportunity to ascertaining their numbers. He conversed with the Indians frequently in the month of May 1831 and many of them said that they were determined to attack the whites and kill them off. A captain or principal Brave called *Pa sha to att* informed the deponent that the Indians were determined to drive off or kill the White People, that the Kickapoos, Pottowattomies, Winnebagoes, Musquakus, IO Ways and Osages would come to their assistance, the deponent learned the same facts from the Chief "Black Hawk." The deponent was in the Village about the 20th of May 1831, he discovered that the warriors had increased considerably in numbers, and he was satisfied that there was then at least *five hundred* warriors in the village, about this time an old Indian came to the house of the deponent and informed deponent, that the Indians had just held a council, and had

determined to attack and kill all the whites and advised deponent to move.

The Indians frequently informed the deponent that they were not afraid of the *Regulars,* that they were able to whip the Regulars and all the citizens in the vicinity of Rock Island.—The deponent saw an Indian Trader named Dixon who had passed through the Indian Village and conversed with him about eight days before the Illinois Militia arrived at Rock Island. Dixon stated that there was at least Eight Hundred warriors at that time in the village. A day or two after this, Mr. Gratiot an Agent of the Winnebagoe Indians informed the deponent that he had been at the village, and was satisfied that there was Eight Hundred warriors then at the village. The Indians remained at the village until the Militia arrived in the vicinity, and left the village in the evening and night before the troops reached the village.—

The deponent states that ever since he has lived near the Indians, they have been in the habit of stealing horses of the white people and killing and destroying stock. In the fall of the year 1829 they stole from this deponent's father, Louden Case, One sorrel mare worth about seventy five dollars—In the year 1829 they destroyed and took away about fifty bushels of Irish potatoes belonging to the said Loudon Case, worth seventy five cents per bushel. In 1830 the deponent and his father lost twenty six hogs, which he is satisfied the Indians killed and took away, worth about five dollars **a head.** In the fall of the year 1830 they stole four other head of horses belonging to deponent and his mother of the following description. A sorrel mare worth fifty dollars, A brown horse worth sixty dollars, a sorrell colt worth twenty five dollars, the horse was returned by the Indians in spring of 1831 much reduced and injured by hard usage.—

In the month of May 1831 the Indians broke into the field of the deponent and took away and destroyed a quantity of wheat belonging to him and his mother, which had been *threshed* and *piled* in the chaff on the threshing *floor,* the quantity supposed to be seventy bushells worth fifty cents per bushell—In the year 1830 the Indians turned their horses into deponent's corn fields and damaged and destroyed a considerable quantity of the corn. The injury thus sustained would amount to at least ten dollars. In the year 1831 the Indians stole from deponent and his mother twenty eight head of hogs worth three dollars per head.

The deponent further states that in conversations with "Black Hawk" and other Indians last spring, they informed him, that they had the winter previous visited and smoked

with the *Kickapoos,* Pottowattomies, Winnebagoes, Musquakus, IO Ways, and Osages, that all of those nations had agreed to join the Black Hawk and his party, and assist in maintaining the possession of the village, and killing off the whites, and they often boasted and said that they would make the Whites *Eat Dirt* and *Choke* to *death.* This deponent is well satisfied from what he learned from the Indians, that they had formed leagues with the nations herein before named, and that those Nations would have furnished men or *warriors* if they had not been detered by the number of troops called into service—The deponent saw at the village with Black Hawk's Band, Kickapoos, Musquakus, Winnebagoes & Pottowatomies in the month of May 1831. About the time of the arrival of the Militia and previous to that time, the Indians were collecting at the village from various Quarters, some on horses and others in caravans, all armed with Guns or Bows and arrows — The deponent further states that in consequence of his being compelled to leave his farm in May 1831, he was prevented from making any crop, his corn that he planted was destroyed by the Indians. In 1830 he lost the use of thirty acres of ground enclosed, which was occupied by the Indians, the rent of which was worth two dollars per acre. In 1831 he lost the use of thirty two acres enclosed, the rent of which was worth two dollars per acre besides the loss of his labour in planting two acres of corn and one and a fourth acres of Potatoes. The deponent has had considerable intercourse with the Sauk and Fox Indians. He can speak their language so as to be understood by them, and can understand them when they speak, so as to transact business and converse with them without much difficulty,—and he knows that in the various conversations, which he has stated, that he had with the Indians there was no misunderstanding of language and meaning—

This deponent further states that after the Indians were driven across the Mississippi River, they frequently returned. They returned and gathered most of the corn which they had planted on the farms of the whites, in doing this they broke the fences of the Whites, and did other damage.—

Jonah H. Case

The foregoing statement of Jonah Case was this day Subscribed and sworn to before me, by said Jonah Case, November 3rd, 1831.

Wm. T. Brashar, Justice of the Peace of Jo Daviss County.

Black Hawk's people too had their tales of grief. In his autobiography, the War Chief says:

Bad and cruel as our people were treated by the whites, not one of them was hurt or molested by our band. I hope this will prove that we are a peaceable people—having permitted ten men to take possession of our cornfields, prevent us from planting corn, burning our lodges, ill-treat our women, and beat to death our men without offering resistance to their barbarous cruelties. This is a lesson worthy for the white man to learn: To use forbearance when injured.

We acquainted our agent daily with our situation, and through him the great chief (Gov. Clark) at St. Louis, and hoped that something would be done for us. The whites were complaining at the same time that we were intruding upon their rights. They made it appear that they were the injured party, and we the intruders. They called loudly to the great war chief to protect their property.

How smooth must be the language of the whites when they can make right look like wrong, and wrong right. . . . We made a bad hunt for want of guns, traps and other necessaries which the whites had taken from our people for whiskey. The prospect before us was a bad one. I fasted and called upon the Great Spirit to direct my steps to the right path. I was in great sorrow because all the whites with whom I had been on terms of intimacy, advised me contrary to my wishes; I began to doubt whether I had a friend among them.

Throughout the controversy Black Hawk held to what was probably a fact—that the four chiefs who in 1804 had signed a treaty conveying all the Sauk and Fox lands in Illinois to the government, had done so without any authority; that these chiefs had gone to St. Louis on a mission having nothing to do with a cession of lands; besides, they were intoxicated at the time of the signing and were not aware of what they had done. They had reported on their return from St. Louis, where the treaty had been made with William Henry Harrison, that they had ceded to the "American Chief" some land "On the west side of the Mississippi,[11] likewise more on the Illinois side opposite North Fabius river." Granted, however, that the treaty of 1804 was valid and its terms binding upon the Indians, there was still a loophole by which

[11] *Autobiography of Black Hawk*, p. 26.

they could legally remain at the old home village, and Black Hawk argued this technicality which was not without merit—that among the provisions of the treaty was the following: "Art. 7. As long as the lands which are now ceded to the United States remain their property, the Indians belonging to said tribes, shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting upon them."[12] Up to this time a part only of their village site had been purchased from the government by the whites. Black Hawk reasoned that the part remaining in government hands was rightfully open to occupancy by his people.

The settlers within Black Hawk's village had begun as early as 1829 to petition the Governor of Illinois for relief from these Indians. Two years had passed since then and now that danger appeared imminent, new petitions asking that the Indians be removed were sent to Governor Reynolds, who on May 27th, issued a call for 700 militiamen to meet at Beardstown on the 10th of June.[13] At the same time he wrote Gen. William Clark, Superintendent of Indians, and to General E. P. Gaines, commander of the western division of the Regular Army, asking their co-operation in driving Black Hawk and his following from the State. General Clark replied that he had done everything short of actual force, to induce the Indians to move off, and General Gaines replied he did not need any militia; that his regular force would be sufficient to move the hostiles except in case all the Sauk and Fox together with allies of other tribes should unite. In such event he would call upon the Governor for his co-operation.

General Gaines embarked at Jefferson Barracks, May 30, with six companies of regulars—about 500 men. These would re-enforce the two companies comprising the garrison at Fort Armstrong. By the 5th of June the General had surveyed the situation about Rock Island, had sensed its seriousness; and on that date wrote Governor Reynolds, requesting him to come with his militia, stating also that he had "Deemed it expedient under all the circumstances of the case to invite the frontier inhabitants to bring their families to this post until the difference is over."

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[12] Kappler, *Laws and Treaties, II.*, p. 74.
[13] Reynolds, *My Own Times*, p. 210.

Black Hawk was not less diligent in preparing for eventualities. He soon had an assemblage of 800 warriors, half of them, perhaps, from the neighboring tribes—Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, and Winnebagoes; one hundred fifty war canoes, capable of carrying twenty to thirty men each, fringed Rock River's bank, and five hundred horses probably all belonging to the Sauk were pasturing near by. The men were said to have been well armed with guns and bows and arrows.[14]

The stage was being set. General Gaines had said to Black Hawk and his delegation: "My business is to remove you, peaceably if I can; forcibly if I must." The War Chief replied: "I will not consent to leave. I am determined not to leave." Governor Reynolds declared he would move the Indians off "dead or alive," and the Indians on their part threatened the settlers with the words: "If you do not move off we will kill you."

Perhaps the Governor is right when he states in his book, *My Own Times*, that it was the Illinois volunteers that saved the day. He says the Indians feared the militia because, being mounted they could follow anywhere. Besides, the volunteers would show no mercy. The regulars being under discipline would obey the orders of their superiors to cease firing or to withdraw from a fray. Being afoot, the Indians could at any time run away from them. Governor Reynolds was not the first to make this distinction between the two kinds of soldiery.

Seven hundred volunteers had been called for but more than twice that number responded. This showed a greater enthusiasm for Indian-fighting than the Indians had anticipated, and had its positive effect on the proposed unpleasantness.

The 1831 campaign has a number of amusing side-lights. We will mention but a few: the first has to do with that grand and glorious feeling of "marching as to war." Governor Ford, one of them, says: "This was the largest military force of Illinoisans which had ever been assembled in the

[14] Depositions of settlers, November, 1831; Division of Archives, Springfield, Ill.

State, and made an imposing appearance as it traversed the then unbroken wilderness of prairie."[15]

The next is from the pen of Governor Reynolds. He was marching his men—under Brig. Gen. Joseph Duncan—under circumstances which reminded him of General Harrison's situation at Tippecanoe, where Tecumseh's Indians made an early morning attack. Reaching the Mississippi at the present site of Andalusia, eight miles below Black Hawk's village, the volunteers made camp, and were met here by General Gaines who received them into the service of the United States; many Indians, probably acting as spies, were seen on the outskirts of the camp. "The army was encamped on this beautiful site," says Reynolds, "and made arrangements for a night attack, as was the case at Tippecanoe in 1811. The Indians under Black Hawk were about the same class of fanatical, crazy people as surrounded the prophet on the Wabash. These modern fanatics had also their prophet that dreamed dreams and excited the deluded savages to a state approaching insanity. . . . The general opinion was that a battle would be fought. The utmost vigilance was observed during the night, and no attack was made."[16]

Since General Gaines' arrival at Rock Island, morning and evening guns had been fired at the fort and there was daily target practice with the cannon. Now that a battle was in prospect, the regulars had placed cannon at the brow of the bluff known as Black Hawk's Watch Tower—now a state park—and other cannon mounted on a steamboat were run up to where the wagon bridge crosses the main channel of Rock River today. A local company called the Rock River Rangers, made up of the men and boys who had settled in the Indian village and for some miles up the Mississippi, supported the battery on the Watch Tower. Governor Ford gives the following account of the balance of the volunteer army as follows:[17] "A battle was expected to be fought that day on Vandruff's Island opposite the Indian town. The spy battalion formed in line of battle, and swept the [Vandruff's]

[15] Ford, *History of Illinois*, p. 112.
[16] Reynolds, *My Own Times*, p. 216.
[17] *Op. cit.* p. 113.

Island, but it was soon ascertained that the ground rose so high that General Gaines' shot could not have taken effect one hundred yards from shore. . . The main body of the volunteers, in three columns, came following the spies, but before they had got to the northern side of the island, they were so jammed up and mixed together, officers and men, that no man knew his own Company or regiment, or scarcely himself." To make the story short we will say they found no Indians. The enemy had quietly moved the night preceding, men, women, children, horses, dogs, baggage and all, across the Mississippi. Black Hawk had given them the slip but the old village, which had been rebuilt after its destruction fifty-one years before, in the westernmost campaign of the Revolutionary War, and which had served as the capital of the Sauk nation, was now before the volunteers. Here had lived the chiefs who had signed and who within the next few years were to sign the great treaties ceding to the United States practically all of Iowa and much of northwestern Illinois, southwestern Wisconsin and northern Missouri. Its second destruction by the whites touched the heart-strings of Governor Ford who describes the scene as follows: "The enemy having escaped, the volunteers were determined to be avenged upon something. The rain descended in torrents, and the Indian wigwams would have furnished a comfortable shelter; but notwithstanding the rain, the whole town was soon wrapped in flames, and thus perished an ancient village which had once been the delightful home of six or seven thousand Indians; where generation after generation had been born, had died and been buried; where old men had taught wisdom to the young; when the Indian youth had often gone out in parties to hunt or to war, and returned in triumph to dance around spoils of the forest, or the scalps of their enemies; and where the dark eyed Indian maidens, by their presence and charms, had made it a scene of delightful enchantment to many an admiring warrior."[18]

The day following, the army moved to where downtown Rock Island is today, and their 1600 horses were turned out on the prairie to graze. A steamboat coming up-river that

[18] *Op. cit.* p. 115.

night frightened the horses, causing a stampede, and it was some days before all the horses were recovered; the volunteers fed their campfires with rails from Judge Spencer's fence in consequence of which, with 1,600 horses over his field, he lost all his crop; then when the volunteers passed through the old Indian town they rode about twenty abreast through Mr. Rinnah Well's field destroying his crop of wheat. Other means of entertainment included the digging up of Indian graves and the burning of an Indian corpse. There are two scenes, however, which command one's admiration.

The first of these took place before the arrival of the volunteers when General Gaines summoned Black Hawk to meet him in council at Fort Armstrong. The war chief came, accompanied by seventy-five to a hundred warriors, painted and armed with guns, bows and arrows and lances, singing the war song as they approached the place of meeting, and their speaker addressed the General in a loud, boisterous manner. So portentous was this martial show that Keokuk, Wapella and other peaceable chiefs who had come to attend the council departed in haste. The soldiers were a quarter of a mile away, and the Indians outnumbered General Gaines' party ten to one. A massacre appeared imminent. In this ominous situation it was Gaines' personality, his quiet, cool manner with the hostiles which quieted them down. He had the audacity, in these surroundings, to tell Black Hawk firmly, that he must move off, and remain on the west side of the Mississippi.

The other notable scene was at Fort Armstrong also—the treaty. As stated above, the hostiles with all their families had fled across the Mississippi the night preceding the advance of the militia upon their town. Gaines sent messengers summoning Black Hawk and his chiefs and head men to come to the fort, the alternative being that Gaines would pursue him with the army. The Indians came up, both the hostiles and the peace chiefs, and signed an agreement never to return to the east side of the Mississippi "without the express permission of the President of the United States or the Governor of Illinois." Furthermore, the "British Band" was to cease to hold any intercourse with any British post, garrison

or town. They promised also to "submit to the authority of the friendly Chiefs and Braves of the United Sauks and Fox Nation."[19]

The 1831 Black Hawk War thus ended without the shedding of a drop of blood. Never again did Black Hawk have so large a force of warriors at his command as at this time, never again so favorable an opportunity to fight it out with the white man. His people at this time were well provisioned, well armed and knew every foot of the ground. Why did he hesitate?

Black Hawk's people had been boasting all that spring that they had defended the village against the Americans in the late war with England and would do so again. It is a matter of history that when Maj. Zachary Taylor was sent against the Sauk and Fox here in 1814, with orders to destroy their village and growing crops, that Black Hawk, then in his prime, after a short fight, known as the battle of Credit Island, sent the future President scurrying down stream in full flight.[20]

But the situation in 1814 and in 1831 was quite reversed. Major Taylor had a fleet of eight gunboats, some cannon and 334 men, while the Indians, estimated at from a thousand to fifteen hundred warriors representing most of the Upper Mississippi tribes, were assisted by British artillerists with their cannon, and Taylor's prospects were hopeless. Shortly before the Credit Island battle, Black Hawk had engaged Major John Campbell in a battle eight miles above Rock Island, and came away with what the British officials declared was "the most brilliant victory of the war in which Indians alone, unassisted by whites," carried off the honors. Sixteen Americans were killed in this battle.

On the present occasion—that of 1831—Black Hawk had 800 warriors, while the whites had some six hundred regulars and 1,600 mounted militiamen.

Black Hawk's conduct in 1831 and '32 is a puzzle. He rides around a settler's cabin with a large armed party threatening the family with death but doesn't touch a person; his

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[19] Stevens, *The Black Hawk War*, p. 96.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

warriors level guns at the whites but never pull a trigger; they slash a man's clothing in a personal encounter but draw not a drop of blood. Fearing his men will harm someone when intoxicated, he prohibits the sale of whiskey.

If Black Hawk was the "cruel, bloodthirsty savage" which some have claimed, why did he not make short work of the pioneers who settled within his village? In an hour's time all could have been tomahawked and scalped. Why did he not take advantage of General Gaines' helpless situation on the Island, before the arrival of the Illinois volunteers, for the whites agreed that they were at the Indians' mercy there, the latter outnumbering them ten to one, all well armed, all thoroughly angry, and all keyed up by the singing of the war song as they came, and yet they permit the General to calmly tell them they must move to the west of the Mississippi peaceably or he will remove them forcibly.

Why did not Black Hawk with his throng of eight hundred warriors meet and scatter the Illinois volunteers before they could join forces with the regulars at Rock Island?

The War Chief said he would not fight; that he would "sit down in his wigwam and let them do as they pleased with him." Then why all the Indian allies? If the warriors feared for the safety of the women and children at the hands of the militia, why did they bring them back to Illinois in 1832? The best answer doubtless is that there were many interested Indians of more or less influence who differed as to the tactics to be employed.

There was no open warfare until restraint ceased to be a virtue; until the Indian law of retaliation demanded it; until the recollection of all the accumulated outrages which the whites, whether purposely or without thought, had perpetrated had driven them to fight, either through self-respect or through insane savagery—or both.

Eight hundred warriors all set for battle, and not a gun fired!

In our mind's eye we can see, here and there, groups of indignant followers of Black Hawk earnestly discussing their recent flight, and the things they are saying are somewhat as follows: "He is too old. He is not what he used to be. He's

just an old woman now;" and, knowing what was being said of him the war chief, now in his sixty-sixth year, was stung to madness. Addressing President Jackson at the city of Washington, in 1833, Black Hawk, then a prisoner of war, said: "We did not expect to conquer the whites. No. They had too many houses. Too many men. I took up the hatchet for my part to revenge injuries which my people could no longer endure. Had I borne them longer without striking, my people would have said, 'Black Hawk is a woman; he is too old to be a chief. He is no Sauk'."[21]

According to white man's law, a contract signed under duress is of no binding force. Black Hawk so signed the treaty of Fort Armstrong—under compulsion. Whatever his reasons, he violated practically every provision in it. He opposed the peace chiefs; he continued to communicate with the British; his people were back in their old fields harvesting their corn and beans as soon as the soldiers left. During the winter following he and his agents were preparing to return to Illinois, and Schoolcraft says he actually had eleven tribes of the Upper Mississippi and Great Lakes region committed to stand by him in case there was a clash with the whites.

Before parting with the year 1831 we will insert a letter of Agent St. Vrain's, written a few weeks after the treaty had been signed, which shows the relationships between the two conflicting races as at the close of the first year's hostilities, viz:

Rock Island Ind. Agency,
July 23, 1831.

Genl. Wm. Clark,
Supt. Ind. Affairs
St. Louis.

Sir: I am sorry to say that after the departure of the troops complaint was made to me by the Indians that the white people living at or near the old Sac village of Rock River, would not permit them to go over to that place for the purpose of covering the dead which had been disturbed by the militia. I was told previous to the departure of the militia, that some Indian graves had been uncovered, of which I im-

[21] Drake, *Indians of North America*, p. 660.

mediately informed the Governor of Illinois, he assured me that it should be stopped. When the indians came to let me know that they could not have the privilege of covering the graves which had been so shamefully disturbed, I told them to meet me the next day at the village and I would see that they should not be injured. I accordingly went with my interpreter, and found to my astonishment, that about fifteen or twenty graves had been uncovered and one entire corpse taken out from the grave and put into the fire and burned;—some of the bones were found in the ashes. Some of those inhabitants make it their business to shoot at the indians as they peaceably pass in the river and if they happen to land, their canoes are either destroyed or taken from them.

I had occasion to give a pass to an indian (whose horse had been taken by a white man) to go over in the State of Illinois to get his horse. The pass was examined and returned to the indian; after which they took his gun and broke it, and gave him a severe whipping.

I am perfectly satisfied from the information I have been able to get, that those who are guilty of the above charges, are none but the squatters on the public lands.

I have the honor to be,

Your Ob. Servt.

Felix St Vrain.

July 1831
Indian Agent, Rock Island,
to General Clark
July 23, 1831.

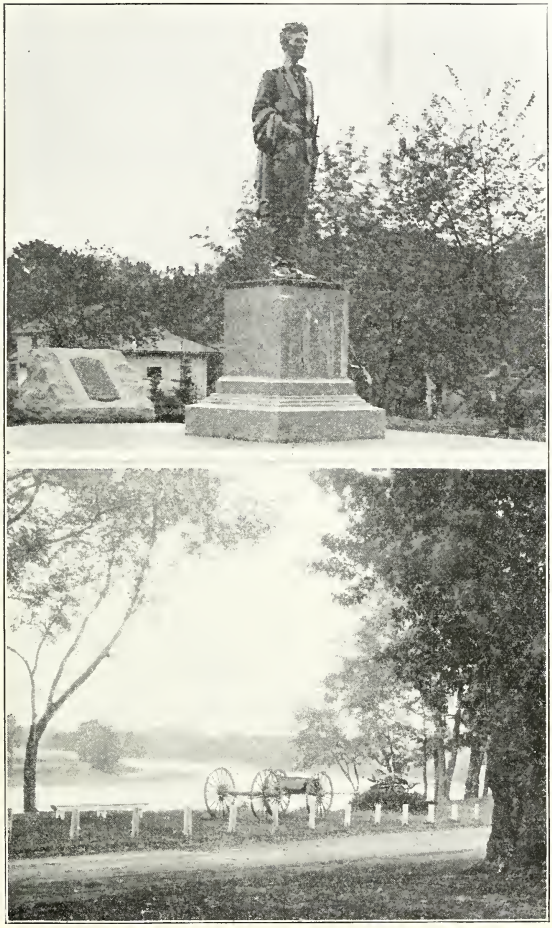
Black Hawk's return to Illinois in April, 1832, at the head of five hundred well armed, well mounted warriors was the greatest item of excitement the country had known since the declaration of war with England in 1812. Whites and Indians the country over were equally excited and held meetings to discuss the part they would play if the worst came. "The whole northern frontiers," wrote Governor Reynolds, "were alarmed, and almost daily messengers reached my residence with the above information. It spread a general panic throughout the whole frontiers, from the Mississippi to Lake Michigan. Many settlers in the greatest terror of the Indians, abandoned their homes and farms and moved into the interior of the State." In Indiana and Michigan "everywhere preparations were made for the emergency.

Farmers were obliged to abandon their spring work and instead of plowing and planting, were summoned to meet with such arms as they could command at some rendezvous, and then prepare by organization and drilling for the expected emergency." In southern Michigan "the stages which had been overcrowded with land seekers, were taken off for want of passengers and many families that intended to make Michigan their home were caused to settle in Ohio instead."[22] In the country near Battle Creek, Michigan, "the community, both Whites and Indians, were exceedingly excited. . . . Five hundred Indians met in council within twenty-five miles from Dry Prairie, and the whites were called upon for defense of the country." Governor Brown ordered the militia to be called out. A company of volunteers was raised near Detroit, which started for the seat of war on foot. In Missouri, "the horrible atrocities committed by the Indians alarmed the whole of the pioneer settlers, and they deserted their homes . . . . leaving their homes and property unprotected. The Governor ordered Major General Gentry to raise without delay, one thousand mounted volunteers for the defense of the frontiers to be held in readiness to start at a moment's warning."[23] It goes without saying that the "British Band" of Sauk and Fox alone could not have caused so much consternation.

It is a common thing among writers to describe Black Hawk's return to Illinois, in April, 1832, as a devastating act, destroying and killing as his men proceeded. As a matter of fact there appears to have been no complaint among the settlers at his old village of the Indians harming anyone or anything, except it be the "Powder Plot"—an attempt to blow up Fort Armstrong.[24] As to the settlers there appears to have been no annoyance.

The non-combatant part of Black Hawk's followers came up the Mississippi in canoes, while the warriors came on horseback, crossing to the east side of the river some fifty miles below Rock Island. Having reached the present site of Andalusia—the same place where General Gaines the year

[22] *Michigan Pioneer Collections,* II., 294-95.
[23] Davis and Dorrie, *History of Missouri,* p. 101.
[24] Meese, *Early Rock Island,* p. 85.



(Upper) Statue of Lincoln the volunteer, at Dixon, Ill.
(Lower) Prophetstown, the scene of the first hostility of the Black Hawk War.

previous had met and sworn into the federal service the Illinois volunteers—the Indians went into camp and while here, on April 12, were filled with apprehension as they saw a steamboat loaded with soldiers pass on its way up to Fort Armstrong. They feared the soldiers would meet them at the mouth of Rock River to turn them back, and therefore, as they entered the mouth of that stream in their procession of canoes they beat their drums to show the Americans they were not afraid. Then fearing there would be cannon at the brow of Black Hawk's Watch Tower, as there had been the preceding year, they passed up along the south side of Vandruff's Island.

They had been invited to spend the summer at the Winnebago Prophet's town some 35 miles up Rock River, to grow a crop of corn, beans, etc., but the Winnebagoes had by this time sensed the temper of the whites and refused to permit them to stay. It was a cruel disappointment to the visitors, and they proceeded up-stream. Camping one night near the log tavern of John Dixon, at the site of the present city of Dixon, Black Hawk, with Ne-a-pope and the Winnebago Prophet, "ate with the family, Mrs. Dixon waiting upon them in a manner so courteous as to completely captivate Black Hawk and command from him thereafter his highest admiration"—as related by the Hon. Frank E. Stevens, in his *Black Hawk War*.[25]

The Pottawatomies were next visited, and as their food supply must by this time have become almost if not entirely exhausted, Black Hawk asked for corn, which was refused on the ground that they had none to spare. The picture was becoming darker. He next learned that the guns, ammunition, goods and provisions which were to have been sent "by a chief of our British Father" were not forthcoming. Just one more straw and the disillusionment would be complete: Black Hawk prepared a dog feast to which he invited the Pottawatomie chiefs, Shabbona and Waubansee, to learn their attitude. "When the feast was ready, I spread my medicine bags and the chiefs began to eat." The guests disclaimed any interest in assisting the host. It was the last straw, but Black Hawk

[25] P. 130.

even before his meeting with the Pottawatomies had had a secret meeting with his own chiefs, and told them his convictions, viz:—that they had been deceived. "That all the fair promises that had been held out to us through Nea-pope of numerous Indian allies and British support were false."

As the ceremonial feast to Shabbona and Waubansee was about ended, news came that some hundreds of white men on horseback had been seen some miles off, and the Sauk War Chief decided the time was at hand to surrender and to give up any further idea of remaining on Illinois soil. He sent a deputation with a white flag to make contact with the whites.

Had this body of soldiers been of the Regular Army it would in all probability have been the last of any hint of hostility. There would have been no further Black Hawk War with its cost of some 150 lives of Americans; the almost complete annihilation of the "British Band" of Sauk and Fox, and the waste of some millions of money. But unfortunately, they proved to be militia, scarcely above the form of a mob, paying attention to the orders of officers only as such orders for the moment proved agreeable. They had come to kill Indians, and they began to shoot the bearers of the white flag; then seeing other Indians they pursued, regardless of orders or formation, until they came near a brush where Black Hawk, who had hastily gathered a few of his followers, was in hiding. Suddenly and unexpectedly, Black Hawk and his warriors rushed furiously upon the whites, uttering meanwhile their blood-curdling war whoop.[26] Eleven of the volunteers lie buried at the town of Stillman Valley, where the State has erected a tall monument to their memory. The balance of the whites escaped but remembered only that their fields were calling them home. From that moment, their one desire was to be mustered out—to return home.

It is well to remember here that the tribes which had ceded their Illinois lands to the National government and who nevertheless continued to roam over them among white settlements, had long since worn out their welcome; that the settlers had lived in fear for some years of the Pottawatomies and Winnebagoes and that as to Black Hawk, they had en-

[26] See Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, and Reynolds, *My Own Times*.

listed only the year previous, losing much of their season's work and crops because of their determination to drive him out and then had let him off with his promise never to return except with permission of the proper authorities. Of what use were the promises of a man to whom they apparently meant nothing? Black Hawk should be the last to complain of the violation of the white flag. The patience of the Illinois volunteer was exhausted. The attack, however, of Stillman's troops, for it was they, was like dropping a lighted match into a powder magazine. The reaction of the Indians was explosive in nature, and because of the Indians' success at Stillman's Run, it became impossible for chiefs and headmen who desired to keep out of war, to control all their tribesmen. Thus, while the initial blow was struck by Black Hawk's immediate followers, the second terrifying blow, the massacre at Indian Creek, was mainly the work of Pottawatomies;[27] while in the course of the war, the Winnebagoes on several occasions brought in the scalps of their white victims, served as guides to Black Hawk, and on several occasions misled the white soldiers who had engaged them as guides.

There were three distinct periods of bloodshed. The first lasted from May 14th, the date of Stillman's battle, to June 6th, during which time the hostiles represented a number of different tribes. Then, after Black Hawk had spirited his women and children away among inaccessible bogs and swamps of southern Wisconsin, his men went forth on a double purpose—to avenge their own dead, and to secure food for their starving dependents. This period covered the time from June 14 when five men were killed at Spafford Farm, to June 30 when two men were killed near Ottawa, and it included Capt. Adam W. Snyder's battle near Kellogg's Grove, the battle of the Pecatonica; Capt. James W. Stephenson's battle; the attack on Apple River Fort, the battle of Kellogg's Grove, and the killings of a number of Americans in isolated instances. The third and final period of bloodshed is made up of two major events—the battle of Wisconsin Heights on July 21st, and the final clash down Battle Hollow on the

[27] Matson, *Memories of Shaubena*, p. 154.

Mississippi, four-and-a-half miles below the mouth of Bad Axe River, on August 2nd and 3rd.

We will keep an eye on both sides of the conflict and insert here a letter telling what the Indian home folks were doing and thinking. As is well known, only a minority of the Sauk and Fox adhered to the "British Band" under Black Hawk. The majority of the United Nation had removed from their Rock River village in 1828 and established themselves west of the Mississippi. Black Hawk's misbehavior was bringing hardship upon the peace party, for it caused all Sauk and Fox to be regarded with suspicion. The letter sent from "Flint Hill," the present Burlington, Iowa, is by a prominent Fox chief, Tai-mah, or Tama as it is spelled in the name of present Tama, the county seat of Tama County, Iowa, which was so named in his honor. The letter is as follows:

Flint Hill, 22nd July, 1832.

Genl. Wm. Clark
Superintendency of Ind. Affs.
Father—

In our present necessitous and oppressed condition, we have no other resort left us but an appeal to the benevolence of a generous heart. Our long acquaintance with you, which has been signalised by so many acts of kindness, induces us once more to appeal to you, and through you to the charity and benevolence of a great and generous nation (the American) whose sympathies we ask in these our present undeserved calamities. We say *undeserved* because we have, from first to last, done all in our power to prevent the rising storm —but to no purpose.

Last spring, when the unfortunate, infatuated band of our people, now at war with the white people visited our village on their way to Rock River, I, Tai-mah, used my best endeavors to ascertain their designs; and I was only able to discover this—that their minds were greatly corrupted with various foreign fables brought, I believe, from Canada, by those of our people who visit that country, and industriously circulated in our nation by many who, I suppose, believed these stories, and many others who feigned to believe them.

Father,—we will relate one of these fables:—We were told that the American were determined shortly to lay hands on all our males, both old and young, and deprive them of those parts which are said to be *essential* to courage; then, a horde of negro men were to be brought from the South, to

whom our wives, sisters, and daughters were to be given, for the purpose of raising a stock of *Slaves* to supply the demand in this country where negroes are scarce.

We assure you, father, that this, and many other similar stories, have had a great influence on the minds of all, or at least of most, of that unfortunate band, which seems now abandoned from heaven and humanity. For the evidence of this fact, I will refer you to the enthusiastic madness with which our women urged their husbands to this desperate resort; and secondly, influenced by a belief of the above fables, they have uniformly treated the dead bodies of the unfortunate white men who have fallen into their hands, with the same indignities which they themselves so much dreaded.

My father,—I say these things to you, because you know me, and because I am the same man now that I was in the Year 1814, when I took (as it were) my life in my hand to rescue from certain destruction the public property of the factory. I have retained, even to old age, the same regard for my American friends which I evinced in the prime of life and my zeal for the Government has not abated but I have cherished these feelings in my own bosom, and endeavored to cultivate them in others. Therefore, permit us, O, Father, to plead innocent to the charges lain against us, and we hope that a great, a wise, and generous nation, as the American people are, will not pass a judgment of conviction on an inoffensive people, and that too, without a hearing. We ask this lenity only for those who have remained peaceably at their own homes—the others have sealed their own destruction.

In the first place, we are charged with having received in secret those of the hostile band who have returned to our villages—this is altogether without foundation in truth. 2ndly. We are accused of crossing the Mississippi (or permitting our young men to do so) to give aid and succour to the said hostile band on Rock River:—this is also an unwarranted falsehood. 3dly. We are charged with entertaining hostile intentions toward the frontier inhabitants of the Missouri, and likewise toward the people of Illinois:—under which pretence, block houses and garrisons have been erected in divers places, and companies of Mounted Rangers organized and ordered to range along the Eastern shore of the Mississippi and at other places; most of which preparations we are well persuaded are much less the effect of fear of being injured by us, than the flattering prospect of being well paid for useless services rendered in places already secure from danger.

Father,—You are well aware of the utter impossibility for us to refute even the most glaring falsehood which malice or ignorance can invent. We are slandered but we know it not. Should some American, who speaks our language perfectly, inform us of the charge, we make our defence to him, and it, there; but the charge still floats on the wings of the winds, and is sounded in the ears of listening thousands, without a possibility on our part of making any defence. Thus we have been charged as above and thus have those charges been circulated among the white people even in what you call newspapers, to our great injury while we have been altogether ignorant of the existence of such reports, and remaining inoffensive at our own homes, not venturing to hunt for necessary foods but compelled to subsist on roots and herbs, until reduced to absolute starvation but even this precaution has not secured us from the wanton and malicious tongue of calumny. We have invited the Government to station *suitable* persons among us to watch our conduct and to report from time to time the result of their observations; and even this request has been but partially complied with—both as to the capacities of some of the young men sent among us, and the taking of them away at the time when they were most needed with us.

Father,—We have said but a small part of what we wish to say; but we do not wish to trouble our friend too much in writing, nor you too much in reading our TALK; yet we suppose it might rescue in some measure our much injured fame from undeserved censure among the white people, if you will have the goodness to permit this, our little Talk with you, to speak to the eyes of the American people.

Father,—We have all confidence in you and our Great Father the President;—we shall submit all to your consideration, and shall rejoice to see your face again and shake hands with you in peace, when we can meet again.

(Signed) Tai-mah his mark
Apanos-okimant his mark

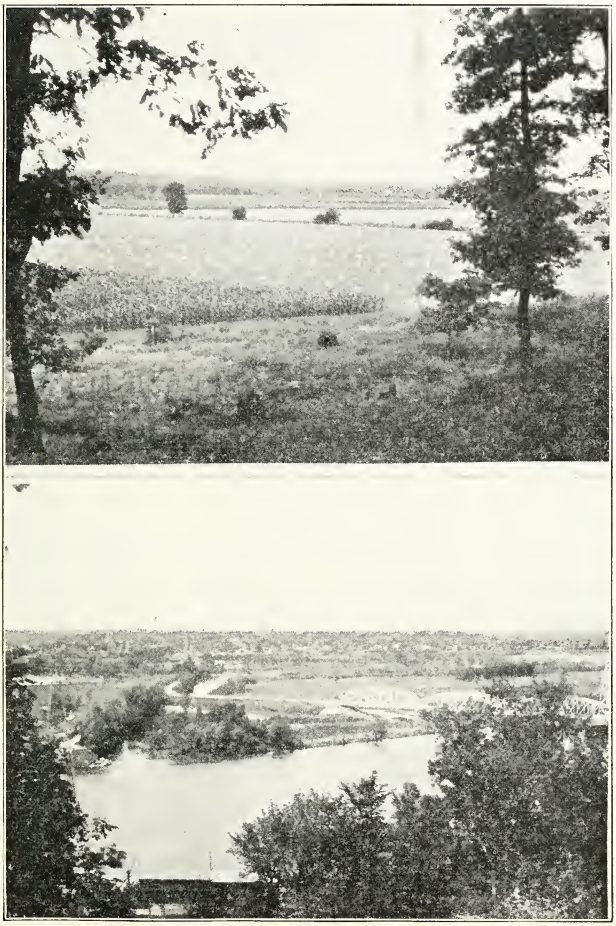
A true interpretation
Attest
Frans. Labussier

The prominent features of the Black Hawk War of 1832 include the steady, unwavering conduct of the regulars under Gen. Henry Atkinson, from the first moment of the arrival of news that the "British Band" was again on the warpath, to the last battle at Bad Axe. There was method throughout and at no time did they yield ground.

Other high lights include the ups and downs of the Illinois volunteers; the battle of Wisconsin Heights in which Black Hawk, though defeated, conducted his defense so skillfully as to draw a high compliment from Lieut. Jefferson Davis, later President of the Confederacy; the battle of the Bad Axe; General Winfield Scott's heroic conduct among his cholera-stricken army at Fort Armstrong; the treaty of Fort Armstrong which was signed opposite the fort on the present site of Davenport, Iowa, because of the cholera on Rock Island, and the triumphal tour of Black Hawk in 1833 immediately following his release from Fortress Monroe where he had been kept a prisoner of war.

We must mention too, some of those who in succeeding years carried the most prominent places on the pages of American history. These included the two outstanding heroes of the Mexican War—Gen. Winfield Scott and Col. Zachary Taylor, both of whom, because of their services in Mexico, became candidates for the Presidency—and Taylor won. On the outbreak of the Civil War we find a Black Hawk War veteran in the White House as chief of the nation, another as head of the army, and another who received the first fire of the rebellious South. We refer to Lincoln, Scott and Anderson. On the Southern side of the conflict were Jefferson Davis, Albert Sydney Johnston and Joseph Eggleston Johnston, all Black Hawk War veterans. The roll included also Governors Reynolds, Duncan, Ford, Carlin, Wood and Ewing of Illinois, and many a patriot and statesman of first quality, the list being too long to recount here.

The Illinois volunteers provide by far the most colorful episodes of the 1832 War. Their forces were shot through and through with ambitious politicians who clamored for office, and, having gained places of prominence, failed to exercise authority for fear of losing the next battle at the polls. Happily this was not universally true, but the volunteer demonstrated the depths of worthlessness to which a poorly led, indifferent mob may descend at a time when the country is loudly calling for protection. The "First Army," as it was called, started the bloody war at Stillman's Run, and, having



(Upper) Where the First Army of Illinois Volunteers was sworn into Federal service. (Lower) View from the site of Fort Wilburn, where the Second Army was sworn in.

started an unpleasantness, refused to go on with it. In the words of the Hon. F. E. Stevens: "There were so many jealousies and irritations, there was such lack of cohesion, and certainly lack of organization and discipline, that men naturally disposed to continue their service lost interest by the contagion of disaffection."[28] In short the army demanded to be mustered out, and this at a time when they were most needed.

The "Second Army," mustered in at Fort Wilbourn, on the Illinois River opposite LaSalle, were of the same material of which the "First Army" was composed, and when the opportunity came to follow a fresh trail made by Black Hawk's fleeing followers, and their commander, General Henry, gave the order to pursue, his understrapper officers respectfully petitioned him to change the order as they preferred not to follow. In the "First Army," under just such circumstance, General Whiteside, its leader, became angry and wanted to be rid of such a batch of weaklings and in his wrath at seeing the scalps of his friends and women and children ignored, declared he would no longer lead them except to be discharged[29]—and discharged they were, at Ottawa. But with General Henry it was different. He too became angry but he ordered the arrest of all the officers who had had the audacity to sign the petition[30] and proceeded with plans to pursue the Indians, whereupon the offending officers begged his pardon, were reinstated, and the army gave an example of what volunteer soldiers may do when at their best. General Henry's volunteer army reached the highest point of efficiency, exerting themselves almost to the point of physical exhaustion as they pushed through all but impenetrable thickets; waded the swamps, neglected to stop to prepare meals, slept on their arms through rainy nights as they gained on the fleeing enemy, and when they had overtaken him at Wisconsin Heights, attacked him with almost reckless daring—and won the battle. Then they pressed on until the final battle was won, on the Mississippi below Bad Axe River.

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[28] *The Black Hawk War*, p. 163.
[29] Stevens, *Black Hawk War*, p. 162.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

In his *History of Illinois,* published in 1844, Henry Brown says that in order to make the book readable he has now and then borrowed an Indian massacre, and as he does it for the benefit of the reader, he trusts it will not be deemed profane. I shall adopt his plan here in order to give the reader a bit of the spirit of Black Hawk's last fight. It is the personal recollection of John H. Fonda, a participant in that battle, as told a quarter of a century afterwards. Mr. Fonda during the battle was aboard the steamboat *Warrior.* Said he:[31]

The boat steamed up-stream [from Prairie du Chien], with all on board anxious to get a pop at the Indians. . . . We came in sight of the Indians south of the Bad Axe River; they were collected together on a bench of land close to the Mississippi, and were making efforts to get their women across.

Capt. Dickson's scouts had not come up yet, and the Indians raised a white flag and endeavored to induce the boat to approach the east shore, and succeeded in bringing her close enough to pour a shower of balls into her. The cannon sent a shower of cannister amongst the Indians, which was repeated three times, each time mowing a swath clean through them. After discharging the gun three times (there was only three charges of canister aboard), the Indians retreated to the low ground back from the shore, where, lying on their bellies, they were safe from us. . . .

Before we rounded the island, and got within sight of the battleground, we could hear the report of musketry, and then it was that I heard Throckmorton say: "Dodge is giving them h—l." And he guessed right, for as we reached the scene of action, the wild volunteers under Gen. Dodge were engaged in a fierce conflict with the Indians. The Indians were driven down to the river edge; some of them under shelter of the bank were firing at the volunteers, who had command of the bluffs. The Suckers and Hoosiers, as we called them, fought like perfect tigers, and carried everything before them.

The troops and Indians on board the Warrior kept up a brisk fire on the Indians ashore, who fought with a desperation that surpassed everything I ever saw, during an Indian fight, and I have seen more than one. The Indians were between two fires; on the bluffs above them were Dickson and his rangers, and Dodge leading on his men, who needed no urging; while we kept steaming back and forth on the river,

[31] *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* V., 262-63.

running down those who attempted to cross, and shooting at the Indians on shore.

. . . . Some of the Indians, naked to the breech-cloth, slid down into the water, where they laid, with only their mouth and nostrils above the surface; but by running the boat closer in to the east shore our Monomonees were enabled to make the water too hot for them. One after another, they jumped up, and were shot down in attempting to gain cover on the bank above. . . .

One incident occurred during the battle that came under my observation, which I must not omit to relate. An old Indian brave and his five sons, all of whom I had seen on the Prairie and knew, had taken a stand behind a prostrate log, in a little ravine midway up the bluff; from whence they fired on the regulars with deadly aim. The old man loaded the guns as fast as his sons discharged them, and at each shot a man fell. They knew they could not expect quarter, and they sold their lives as dear as possible; making the best show of fight, and held their ground the firmest of any of the Indians. But they could never withstand the men under Dodge, for as the volunteers poured over the bluff, they each shot a man, and in return, each of the braves was shot down and scalped by the wild volunteers, who out with their knives and cutting two parallel gashes down their backs, would strip the skin from the quivering flesh, to make razor straps of. In this manner I saw the old brave and his five sons treated and afterward had a piece of their hide.

From another source, that of Judge John W. Spencer who was one of the first arrivals at Black Hawk's village as a settler of 1829, and one of Rock Island's most highly respected citizens, we add the following word picture of scenes attending Black Hawk's last battle, as follows:

Now I have the most unpleasant part of my story to tell. After the indians had crossed the (Mississippi) river, and were almost defenseless, having lost most all of their guns and ammunition in crossing the river, our army had put a band of these merciless Sioux on their trail, who, knowing how perfectly helpless they were, were glad of the opportunity to destroy them. I will give the account of this terrible massacre as given by a squaw, who had lived with a white man by the name of Nathan Smith. I knew them both well.

She said her brother, by the name of Wishita, a fine looking man, and a chief of considerable standing, was wounded while crossing the Mississippi, but he, with great exertion,

(Upper left) Kellogg's Grove Monument, near Lena. (Upper right) Stillman Valley Monument. (Lower left and right) Monuments at Shabbona Park.

reached the western shore. Here the bank being steep, she tried to get him out, but could not succeed, and was obliged to leave him behind her on account of her company, which was already in advance of her.

She had crossed the river on a pony, carrying her child, about a year old, before her. They hurried on, fearing an attack of our army, or an attack of the Sioux, as they were in their country. They had travelled that day and night, and until the latter part of the next day, without food, when they succeeded in killing some game, and camped for the night. That night, they, for the first time in many weary days and nights, had plenty to eat. They had camped in a valley, and the morning was very foggy. They had eaten an early breakfast, and were about starting on their journey, she just mounting her horse, when the Sioux with a great noise, whooping and yelling, broke into their camp, killing large numbers of them regardless of age or sex.

She rode off as fast as her horse could possibly go, carrying her child before her. She said the motion of her horse was so hard on her child, she thought for some time it was dead, and looked for some thick brush or weeds that she could throw it in to hide it from the Sioux.

She knew by keeping a southern course it would bring her to her friends.

After travelling more than two hundred miles without another human being save her child, without food, and expecting hourly to be overtaken by her enemies, she at last found a trail where Keokuk had been out on a buffalo hunt. Following this trail, it brought her to the Indian village on the Iowa river.[32]

Just another glimpse of the remnant of Black Hawk's once proud band, from the pen of an eye witness—that of Governor John Reynolds:

During the pendency of this treaty, the remnants of the band of Black Hawk arrived at Rock Island, and exhibited distress and affliction that was truly sorrowful and painful to behold. They were literally starved to mere skeletons, and showed such destitution and misery that they excited the sorrow and sympathy of all who saw them. The heart of Gen. Scott is blessed with the most kind and tender sympathies for the distressed, which I was extremely well pleased to find on the occasion. We liberally bestowed on these deluded and

[32] Spencer, *Reminiscences*, pp. 63-64.

miserable beings everything that tended to relieve their wants and make them happy.[33]

Thus Black Hawk and his followers paid the price of their folly. There is little doubt that his plans had been carefully thought through and were believed to be fool-proof:—All the tribes talking war; word that his constant friends, the British, were to send arms, ammunition, food and other goods, and that, in case all these failed, they would continue northward through the wilderness to Canada where they would be out of the jurisdiction of the Americans.

As to Black Hawk's Indian allies, there were intertribal quarrels enough so that when it was seen that the white man could not be defeated, the Sioux, Menominees, Pottawatomies and Winnebagoes dropped the Indian cause, and to be on the winning side were found marching in the ranks of the white man; helping to crush those who had been duped by them, and causing the Sauk and Fox to pay the full price for all the annoyance, the successive country-wide alarms, and the actual bloodshed which had been tolerated by Illinoisans at the hands of the several tribes during the past six years and more.

In this connection let us again turn to Black Hawk's home folks—the peace party in Iowa. Now that one of the outstanding Sauk war chiefs and his following—Black Hawk and his "British Band"—had been annihilated, their old-time enemy, the Sioux, was boldly trespassing upon Sauk and Fox territory, evidently believing that the decimated ranks of the latter would be unable to resist them. It is interesting to note, in the petition below, that the peace party presents an alternative:—either the U. S. A. must drive back the Sioux or they themselves will do it and also, that it is "too humiliating for the Sauk to allow their country to be taken from them without attempting to defend it." Thus the peace party, no less than Black Hawk and his party, stood squarely on what they believed to be their rights and were ready to go to war, if necessary, to defend them.

The letter, or petition, is as follows:

[33] *My Own Times*, p. 267.

Upper Rapids of Demoine River
[Translation] Dec. 19, 1832.
To Genl. William Clark Supt.
Indian Affairs.
Our Father:

After due deliberation of the Chiefs and Braves, we have concluded that it was our duty to inform you of the events which have transpired between our Nation and the Sioux, since last spring; and it is not with a view of justifying ourselves that we send you this information, but solely for the purpose of rendering the necessary satisfaction to our own cause; for since the last calamity which befel our unhappy Tribe, we can have no wish to exaggerate in its favour, but rather to state facts impartially.

The Sioux, our Enemies, whose attacks we have so often repulsed and whom we have driven even beyond their own limits before the strong arms of the Government stayed our hands and compelled us to a peace with a nation the most barbarous, and which had always been the inveterate enemies of our fathers—this people now inflated with pride at having gained the ascendency over the miserable remnant after the battle of the Mississippi (Bad Axe), takes possession of our country,—for they have advanced within our boundaries seventy miles:—boundaries which have been agreed upon by all the parties of the Prairie du Chien Treaty; nor have they in thus advancing upon our homes deigned to give us the smallest sign or token of peaceful intentions; on the contrary we have perceived the traces of hostility toward us. In short, being well aware of their evil intentions, we have kept ourselves in great distrust of them, and have even withdrawn ourselves from our own hunting grounds in order to avoid all difficulties with them. But notwithstanding our efforts to prevent any collision with our enemies, our Evil fortune has willed it otherwise. Two of our people fell in with a party of Sioux and in their own defence were compelled to kill one of them; but they neither deprived him of his vestments or of his head—for we had decreed in council and given notice that no triumph would be accorded to any one who killed the Sioux—that on the contrary he would be considered blameable and held subject to the will of the Government.

OUR FATHER!

It is on this account we ask you to take such measures as will oblige the Sioux to keep within their own limits, for without this, it is impossible for a peace to last.

In conclusion we must say it is too humiliating for the Sac Nation to allow their country to be taken possession of without attempting to defend it.

We hope our Father will write to us, and let us know his intentions with regard to the Sioux.

his
(Signed) Keokuk
mark

Exact Interpretation
(Signed)
Francois Labusier
Edward Brishnelle

Sacks

Pashepaho
Peat-tshe neway
Assan-Wish Kano
Manete-Wai na
Wapa-Kolensh-Kuek

Foxes

Taemay
Wata-pinante
Tsha Ke-Maco

The Black Hawk war produced a number of definite results. It was the means of clearing the State of Illinois of all Indians without any further trouble. All those natives who had boasted of their military strength, and what they would do under provocation, now moved meekly to the west of the Mississippi.

The Winnebagoes, within six weeks after the last battle, at Bad Axe, came to Fort Armstrong where on Sept. 15, 1832, they ceded all their remaining Illinois lands and promised to quit them on or before June 1st, 1833.[34]

The Sauk and Fox had not agreed among themselves. Those who favored peace had remained with Keokuk; the others had followed Black Hawk, and this party had been annihilated as we have seen. Now the peace party, already living west of the Mississippi, were penalized because of their kinship, and were called to Fort Armstrong where they ceded six million acres, known as the "Black Hawk Purchase," located in eastern Iowa, next west of the Mississippi, and promised to be off this land by June 1st, 1833, and to neither hunt nor otherwise occupy any of the lands ceded, after that date.[35]

The Potawatomie met the treaty makers at Chicago, and on Sept. 26, 1833, ceded five million acres which included their

[34] Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties,* 345.
[35] *Ibid.,* 349.

remaining lands in Illinois, and agreed to move from the Illinois lands immediately upon the ratification of the treaty by the President and Senate of the United States.[36]

Thus in the short space of a year following the Black Hawk War, was Illinois cleared of all aggravation and danger because of Indians, and the same condition was extended to a substantial part of the present State of Iowa. That was progress with a vengeance.

There naturally followed another very definite result—the rapid settlement of the lands of northwestern Illinois now clear of the Indian population. The Black Hawk War brought men by the thousands—farmers, merchants and professional men, serving primarily as volunteers to fight Indians, but becoming at the same time explorers of one of the finest areas to be found anywhere. The world will hardly show a more favored country where scenic beauty, climate and fertility of soil are to be found in such happy combination, and it was not long before the settlers had the country laid out into fruitful farms.

There was one young volunteer who was to occupy the White House as President during the Civil War, and therefore to be called upon to give direction to the armies of that day. At the time of the Black Hawk War he was but twenty-three years of age, but was an alert, ambitious young man, perhaps the outstanding athlete of the volunteer army. He had no military experience for the Civil War, except that received in the Black Hawk War, and we believe it was of much value to him, and therefore to our country. He marched and slept with the soldiery and learned its strength and weaknesses. For three days the army with which he marched was "literally without anything to eat," as told by Governor Reynolds; while they waited at Oquawka for the steamboat to come with provisions,—and the lack of food nearly wrecked the army. Weak leadership, men without a sense of military discipline, an army without morale, and the same kind of an army with morale—certainly Abraham Lincoln did not miss the lessons which such conditions taught. His own part in the war was distinctly creditable to him, though in

[36] *Ibid.*, 402.

no wise conspicuous if we except his athletic prowess. His service as Captain in the "First Army" went down with the crash when the army demanded to be mustered out. His second and third enlistments were in companies detached for scouting service—not the humdrum of being one in a thousand, but in each case, one of a small company, scouring the country wherever Indians were expected to be found—the only kind of service open at the time to one desiring something distinctive and exciting and withal dangerous. While we do not claim that his Black Hawk War service was the cause of his rise to his position of great usefulness, it is interesting to follow him, rising arm in arm with the veterans of that backwoods contest:—John Calhoun gives him a job as surveyor; his old company projects him into the legislature; John T. Stuart makes a lawyer of him; he served as legislator under three Governors—Ewing, Duncan and Carlin; he was elected to Congress through the withdrawal of John J. Hardin; Joseph Gillespie presided over the State Republican convention which initiated his candidacy for the Presidency; Edward Dickinson Baker introduced him on the occasion of the first inaugural address at Washington; O. H. Browning was his mouthpiece in the Senate during the war; General Scott his army chief, and Robert Anderson of Fort Sumter fame saw the opening of the great conflict:—all these had served against Black Hawk.

The State of Illinois in the year 1927 purchased Black Hawk's Watch Tower to be used as a State Park. From the top of this bluff were fired the first shots of the Black Hawk War; the spot where the battery was placed has been marked by the Pioneer and Old Settlers' Society of Rock Island County. The park should be developed as an Indian memorial to all those red men who loved the Great Valley, but lost it to the white man. The Watch Tower was part of Black Hawk's village site; the place he would not give up, and there is probably no bit of ground for the love of which so much Indian blood was spilled.

In New York City in 1833, far from the scene of hate and its turbulence, as tens of thousands thronged to see the noted

war chieftain who was being escorted through the large cities that he might be impressed with the strength of the whites, one of the latter gave out a poem, granting to Black Hawk the credit due a man who fights for his country:—

> He fought for independence too—
> He struck for freedom—with a few
> Unconquered souls—whose battle cry,
> Was—"red men—save your land or die,"
> But fought in vain—for 'tis decreed,
> His race must fall, and yours succeed.
> Then kindly treat the captive chief,
> And let your smiles assuage his grief;
> He knows your strength—has felt your power—
> Then send him to his native bower.[37]

The stormy scenes described in this paper occurred a hundred years ago. Since that time a hundred million and more of whites have covered the country from sea to sea. The old contests for possession are ended. Time has healed the wounds and it is not for us to perpetuate the bitterness and agony of that day. In three centuries of life on this continent the white man has defeated the Indian, but never has he been able to break down the Indian pride of race, and today, whether at the polls or on the battlefield, the two races join hands in defense of their common country.

In his last recorded speech, at Fort Madison, Iowa, on July 4th, 1838, Black Hawk, then past three-score and ten years of age, gave utterance to a tender sentiment, fragrant with the recollection of that which cost him everything dear in life except life itself:

"Rock River was a beautiful country. I loved my village, my cornfields. I fought for them."[38]

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[37] Baltimore *Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, June 21, 1833.
[38] Cole, *History of the People of Iowa*, p. 106.

THE CHICAGO TIMES DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By Mrs. L. E. Ellis

The Chicago *Times,* under the editorship of Wilbur F. Storey, became one of the most influential Democratic newspapers of the West during the Civil War. Through its daily, weekly and (after March, 1864) tri-weekly editions the news of the nation together with the ideas of the editor were disseminated over a wide area. The importance of this paper was recognized by James Oakes, Acting Assistant Provost-Marshal-General of Illinois, in his report on the war in that State. After referring to the general hostility of the press, he wrote: "And chief among these instigators of insurrection and treason, the foul and damnable reservoir which supplied the lesser sewers with political filth, falsehood, and treason, has been the Chicago Times. . . . The pestilential influence of that paper in this State has been simply incalculable."[1] However, determination of the influence of the *Times,* pestilential or otherwise, is not the purpose of this study. It is rather to discover the attitude of that paper toward the important issues of the Civil War. So much has been said and written of the disunion or 'Copperhead' sentiments of the *Times* and their effect on the loyalty of the people that an intensive study seems justified.

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHICAGO TIMES

The Chicago *Times* developed from a small independent daily, the Chicago *Courant,* which was first issued in November, 1853, with William Duane Wilson as editor and A. C. Cameron as one of the proprietors. In June, 1854, the *Courant* came into the possession of Isaac Cook, Daniel Cameron and J. W. Patterson and

[1] *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* published under the direction of Elihu Root, F. C. Ainsworth and J. W. Kirkley (Washington, 1881-1901), Series III, vol. V, 838.

became definitely Democratic under the name of *Young America*. In August James W. Sheahan of Washington, D. C., a friend and admirer of Stephen A. Douglas, became editor of this paper and soon supplanted Patterson as proprietor. In 1858 Cameron sold his interest in the rechristened Chicago *Daily Times* to William Price; Isaac Cook also disposed of his share in the business, leaving Sheahan and Price as proprietors with the former serving as editor.[1]

From 1854 until 1860 Sheahan edited the *Times* and no statesman ever received more ardent support from any paper than Douglas received from the *Times* during those years. In every political struggle which arose Sheahan upheld and defended Douglas' position. He eagerly advocated Douglas' nomination for the Presidency in 1860 and almost every issue of the *Times* before and after the meeting of the political conventions of that year carried an editorial concerning the policies of Douglas and his unusual fitness for the Presidency. When the state Democratic conventions of Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and Michigan endorsed the "Little Giant" for the Presidency Sheahan expressed enthusiastic approval.[2] Constantly his plea to the public was that only the nomination of Douglas at the Charleston convention could thwart a Republican victory which would mean the elevation of a "sectional party" to power:[3]

"Let the name of Stephen A. Douglas be inscribed on the national Democratic banner, and the contest of 1860 is from that moment won! From that moment all fears of the triumph of Republicanism are at an end! And henceforth the glorious flag of this mighty nation will float over a united and happy country, reposing on the protecting power and justice of its government and sustained by the strong hands and gallant hearts of a vast majority of the American people."

Perhaps the complete approval which Sheahan gave Douglas' policies can best be expressed by a statement from the editor's biography of that man.[4] In his preface Sheahan wrote that the

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[1] For the early history of the *Times* see Moses, J., and Kirkland, J., *History of Chicago* (Chicago, 1895), vol. II, and Andreas, A. T., *History of Chicago from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Chicago, 1885), vol. II.

[2] The *Times*, Jan. 6, 21, 1860.

[3] *Ibid., Mar.* 13, 1860.

[4] *Life of Stephen A. Douglas* (New York, 1860).

book had "been written by one who agrees fully with Mr. Douglas in political views, and who, since the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, has been engaged in maintaining before the people of Illinois the wisdom, justice, and expediency of the policy of the Democratic party upon the question of Slavery in the Territories."

The dissension and final division within the Democratic party greatly weakened the *Times* and its influence began to wane after the Charleston Convention. It also suffered financially, and there was little surprise when, on July 25, 1860, its Republican rival, the *Press and Tribune,* reported the rumor of its consolidation with the *Herald.* The latter paper had been founded in 1858 to support Buchanan in the dispute over the Lecompton constitution and had in the following year come into the possession of Cyrus Hall McCormick. The consolidation of the two papers proved more than rumor and on July 31, 1860, the first copy of the *Times and Herald* appeared. On the following day the *Press and Tribune,* commenting on the merger, declared that "In the sale of the *Times,* they [the Douglas supporters] have the confession of one of their most sagacious men that Douglas' chances are utterly beyond hope."

For almost a year the *Times and Herald,* with name changed to the *Daily Chicago Times,* was owned by McCormick and edited by E. W. McComas, a Virginia journalist. During this time the paper was published in McCormick Block, at the corner of Randolph and Dearborn streets. Under McComas' editorship it maintained a definite State rights policy and became increasingly unpopular as war became inevitable. In the absence of a file of the *Times* for this period it has been necessary to depend upon other sources concerning its policies, and of these the Republican Chicago *Tribune,* though extremely hostile, has been most valuable.

The *Tribune* was severely critical of the *Times* and of other Democratic journals which opposed Lincoln and his party. It accused them of being treasonable, since by refusing to support Lincoln they encouraged the South to hope for Northern aid. One of the earliest denunciations was for the "baseless, careless, senseless, witless misrepresentations of purposes and policies of the Republican party," which had been more "largely instrumental than any other agency whatever in poisoning the public mind, stirring up the baser passions and exciting the sectional hate of the

South."[1] Subsequent indictments followed, all stressing the treasonable character of the *Times*. When it claimed to be a Union paper the *Tribune's* scorn was unparalleled. No paper, it said, which refused to blame the South for secession and which had nothing but contempt for the Northern government could be Union in sentiment.[2] Shortly before McCormick sold the *Times*, the *Tribune* denounced McComas' policies in the following editorial:[3]

> We should be sorry to believe that the editorials of the Chicago *Times* reflect the sentiments of the party of which it was lately a representative. Despite the cunning effort to appear to sympathise with loyal men who are laboring to put down this wicked rebellion, it is evident that it waits the moment, when it may do so with safety, to throw off its flimsy disguise, and range itself once more along side the enemies of the Constitution and the Union. Its treatment of the question at issue in Missouri between the friends of the Government and the secessionists; its unconcealed chuckle over the prospective interference of Great Britain in our domestic quarrel; its readiness to blame and its tardiness in praising what the Administration does, and the whole tenor of its articles are conclusive as to the real animus of those who control it. . . . its share in fomenting and encouraging the rebellion by which the country is torn, cannot be diminished by its present show of loyalty. Its record is made. That, when compelled to do so by fear of popular indignation, its owners hung out the American Flag, that they might continue to do mischief to the cause of free government and the North, is no reason why the *Times* should be held guiltless for the treason which it now hardly cares to conceal.
>
> We are glad to know that the malignity and venom of that secession sheet are not shared by the Democratic party. . . .

Either because of its policies or its management, or both, the *Times* did not prosper; its circulation was small—not more than a thousand, it was asserted[4]—and it had little advertising patronge. In the face of this situation McCormick decided to sell and found a purchaser in Wilbur F. Storey, for eight years successful editor of the Detroit *Free Press*. The transfer was made in June, 1861. It was the fourth time the paper had changed hands in eight years.

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[1] The Chicago *Tribune*, Jan. 15, 1861.
[2] *Ibid.*, April 11, 15, 18, 1861.
[3] *Ibid.*, May 27, 1861.
[4] Andreas, *op. cit.*, II, 495.

The task of the new owner was enormous. The *Times* had not prospered under the editorship of McComas. The Democratic *Post* which Sheahan had established after selling the *Times* was following the dictum of Douglas by giving conservative support to the war policies of the administration and offered considerable competition to other Democratic papers. However, Storey was well qualified for his task. He was forty-two years old and had years of newspaper experience behind him. The son of a Vermont farmer, he had entered the employ of the Middlebury *Free Press* at the age of twelve and from that time until his death there were but few years when he was not engaged in newspaper work. After five years with the Middlebury *Free Press* he moved to New York City, where he secured a position as compositor on the *Journal of Commerce*. In the spring of 1838 Storey started west with his savings of $200. His first stop was at La Porte, Indiana, where the Democrats were just establishing a paper. Their efforts were not successful, and with the paper's failure Storey moved to Mishawaka, Indiana, where he edited the Democratic *Tocsin* for eighteen months. At this time he was persuaded by his sister to move to Jackson, Michigan. While there he engaged in various activities. He studied law for two years, managed a drug store for a time, edited the Democratic Jackson *Patriot*, and served as postmaster during the Polk administration. He became interested in politics and was a member of the Michigan constitutional convention of 1850. In 1853 came an opportunity to gain a half-interest in the Detroit *Free Press*, and with this Storey's real editorial career began. He soon became sole proprietor of the moribund *Free Press* and made it one of the most powerful Democratic dailies of the West. It was after eight years with this paper that he determined to try his talents in the rapidly growing city of Chicago and purchased the *Daily Chicago Times* for a sum reported to be $23,000.[1]

He brought with him from Detroit a large part of the staff of the *Free Press*. With this group of known and trusted assistants he began his task. He occupied new offices at 74 Randolph

[1] For the early life of Storey, see *The United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self Made Men*, Illinois volume (Chicago, 1876), 533ff.; Wood, D. W., *Chicago and Its Distinguished Citizens* (Chicago, 1881), 297ff; Wilkie, Franc B., *Personal Reminiscences or Thirty-Five Years of Journalism* (Chicago, 1891). Wilkie served on the *Times* for twenty-three years.

street, purchased new presses and carefully supervised the organization and furthered the development of every department of the paper. He used the telegraph more widely than ever before, devised a system of supplying railway trains with papers and adopted a policy of sending out special correspondents. These methods gradually built up the circulation and advertising patronage, and the *Times* soon gained a position of real importance in the newspaper world.

Storey's success was largely of his own making. He had set himself the task of making the *Times* a great and paying newspaper and he was determined to succeed. He was an indefatigable worker and knew how to get the most out of his employees. A member of his staff quotes him as saying: "Whatever success I have had is due to the use of money and men. When I had little money I had to use men. I get the best there is in a man out of him"[1] This employee explained, however, that Mr. Storey interfered very little in individual work. He believed that a great deal of latitude should be given individual writers and that they would work best if left alone. He insisted upon getting at the truth of every event and expressed his findings and beliefs without equivocation. He was something of a crusader and often fought for issues which were generally unpopular. He had little respect for the so-called privileged classes and fearlessly attacked men and measures alike without thought of the consequences. He was properly accused of being vindictive but this trait was rarely evident except against equals. Neither the *Times* nor its editor enjoyed great popularity, but the paper was widely read, and that was what Storey desired. For above all else he was a newspaper man—a great editor. One man has written that:[2]

"Among the newspaper men of the time there is not one with whom Storey may be compared. He was a type in himself, a class by himself, having no sympathies with the gentler side of humanity. He lived a life of tempestuous triumph in Chicago journalism, and reached the very pinnacle of unenviable notoriety."

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[1] From a letter of Joseph E. Chamberlain, quoted in Cook, F. F., *Bygone Days in Chicago, Recollections of the Garden City of the Sixties* (Chicago, 1910), 337.

[2] Curry, J. S., *Chicago, Its History and Its Builders* (Chicago, 1912), II, 126.

Several persons have remarked about the extent to which Storey dominated his paper. One history of Chicago includes the following statement:[1]

"The *Times* was dominated in every department by the spirit of the proprietor, so that the history of the paper became more that of its editor, during the period of his activity, than can be said of any other paper that has ever existed in Chicago, not excepting 'Long John' Wentworth's *Democrat*."

Another writer expressed the same characteristic by saying that: "They who hold that a newspaper is greater than its maker will find a telling argument against their theory in the fact that the greatness of the *Times* began and ended with Storey."[2] Such was the man who directed the *Times* during the trying years of the Civil War. A newspaper man with the gigantic task of making a losing paper pay, a Democrat, a crusader, a man with decided opinions, a man not free from vindictiveness. How would he react to the war raging between the States? What would be his attitude toward the Illinoisan who had been elevated to the highest office in the land?

CHAPTER II

EMANCIPATION AND CONFISCATION

The war was well under way when Storey came to Chicago in June. In the beginning he supported Lincoln in his efforts to defeat the South but insisted that the only legitimate purpose of the struggle was the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of the Constitution. Time and again during the four years which followed he voiced his belief in this double motive, declaring that no other issue was involved. The Southern States should be subjugated since this was the only way to restore them to their proper place in the Union, but the subjugation must be accomplished by constitutional methods. To Storey, the all-important question of slavery was not an issue of the war. Slavery was a problem for state rather than federal action. Lincoln's treatment of the problem of slavery had much to do with determining Storey's attitude toward him and finally toward the war itself. Thus the

[1] Moses and Kirkland, *op. cit.*, II, 55.

[2] Abbott, W. J., "Chicago Newspapers and Their Makers," *Review of Reviews* (New York, 1895), XI, 650.

whole question is worthy of consideration. Believing as he did in state control of slavery, Storey opposed all national schemes of emancipation and confiscation as unconstitutional and impracticable.

The first statement of his position took the form of a vigorous denunciation of General John C. Frémont's proclamation providing for the confiscation and freeing of the slaves of rebel planters in his military district in Missouri.[1] According to the *Times* this proclamation was not only unconstitutional and unwise, but it displayed a marked insubordination to administrative control at Washington, and criticism of Frémont did not cease with the much lauded action of Lincoln in disallowing the proclamation.[2] With the problem of emancipation before the people, Storey took occasion to state his opinions fully. In addition to being unconstitutional and impracticable, emancipation would result in complete disunion, he argued. It would also result in a general exodus of negroes into the North and would at the same time cause the economic ruin of the South. Since cotton, the basis of Southern prosperity, was of vital importance to the North as well, that section would be seriously affected.[3]

Lincoln's one act of disallowance, although a move in the right direction, was hardly enough for Storey, who demanded from the President a definite statement of his position on slavery. The Republicans became more insistent upon emancipation and their suggestion that it might be considered an exercise of the war-making power alarmed Storey. He declared that the power to make war was entirely separate from that to suppress insurrection and that resort to the war-making power would mean recognition of the complete dissolution of the Union and acknowledgment of the claim of the Confederacy to independent nationhood. Such an acknowledgment would be disastrous if only from the effect it would have upon foreign nations.[4] It was not until March, 1862, that Storey's demands for a definite statement were met and his fears allayed. In his special message to Congress Lincoln, even while recommending that the border states be notified that the federal government would give aid to all which adopted some

[1] The *Times*, Sept. 7, 1861.
[2] *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1861.
[3] *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1861.
[4] *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1861.

system of gradual emancipation, declared that the general government should "set up no claim or right by Federal authority, to interfere with slavery within State limits, ..." but that "the absolute control of the subject in each case," belongs "to the State and people immediately interested."[1] This was the exact position of the *Times* and it had only praise for Lincoln. However, Storey could scarcely appreciate the position of the President; his problems were great and it was difficult to maintain the policy of strict consistency which the editor demanded. Within a few weeks after high praise for his special message Lincoln was being attacked by the *Times* for failure to veto measures providing for emancipation in the District of Columbia and in the territories.[2]. A month later his revocation of General Hunter's order for freeing the slaves in Florida, South Carolina and Georgia brought slight acclaim, being considered as merely another example of his vacillation.[3]

The *Times* was equally hostile to confiscation and emancipation, believing that the former would lead ultimately to the latter and that serious problems of caring for the freed negroes would arise. Therefore Storey objected to Senator Trumbull's confiscation bill of 1862 which provided for the confiscation of all property of those in rebellion, and for the emancipation of the slaves thus confiscated. The *Times* characterized this bill as being of doubtful constitutionality and as "a measure of hate and revenge . . . , of absolute and unqualified extermination" for the Southern people which would arouse them to undying resistance.[4] With congressional action on confiscation imminent Storey elaborated on his opposition to the various bills before the government. He declared:[5]

That they are unconstitutional;

That they operate equally on the guilty and the innocent;

That they are contrary to the enlightened spirit of the age;

That they could not be enforced;

That, if enforced, they could be only enforced over the annihilation of not only State authority, but of the entire population of the southern States;

That they would break up the Union and destroy the constitution;

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[1] *Ibid.*, Mar. 8, 1862.
[2] *Ibid.*, April 18, 26, 1862.
[3] *Ibid.*, May 21, 1862.
[4] *Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1862.
[5] *Ibid.*, June 23, 1862.

That they would only stimulate the people in the rebellion to renewed efforts for the accomplishment of their object, and consequently impose greater burdens upon the government to suppress the rebellion; and

That the results of such measures would bring to the government no means to pay its debts or prosecute the war.

Believing thus, it is not surprising that the *Times* wrote optimistically of Lincoln's veto of the confiscation measure.[1]

We are joyously reassured by this message. For a few days past there have been indications that the President was about to yield to the clamor of the malignants and fanatics, and adopt policies the calamitous consequences of which could be as plainly discerned in the future as the unobscured sun can be beheld at noonday. These indications are dissipated. The President has not yielded. . . We accept this veto message as a bow of promise.

But the bow of promise disappeared a few days later when a supplemental confiscation law was accepted, the immediate effect of which, according to Storey, "must be to repress every particle of Union sentiment which may remain in the South, and drive the whole body of the southern people into the extremest desperation."[2]

The late summer of 1862 found Lincoln harassed by Republicans and Democrats alike. The first demanded an immediate proclamation of emancipation while the latter insisted that they have a definite promise that such would not be issued. The Democrats received Lincoln's public letter (August, 1862) to Greeley with enthusiasm, for in that letter the President seemed to consider the preservation of the Union and not slavery as the important issue. One paragraph in particular delighted Storey:[3]

I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be the Union as it was. If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would

[1] *Ibid.*, July 19, 1862.
[2] *Ibid*, Aug. 2, 1862.
[3] Quoted in *Ibid.*, Aug. 26, 1862.

do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would do that.

In approving this statement Storey failed to realize that Lincoln might feel that the Union could be saved only by freeing the slaves. He overlooked the section wherein the President said, "and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; . . . ." Thus when Lincoln issued his preliminary proclamation of emancipation on September 22, 1862, the *Times* bitterly denounced him, asserting that he had weakly yielded to the pressure of the abolitionists and had overridden the Constitution. For several days almost every issue of the paper carried an indictment of the President.[1] The proclamation was characterized as "a monstrous usurpation, a criminal wrong, and an act of national suicide";[2] but despite his opposition to the measure Storey declared it was the duty of Democrats and conservatives to continue their support of the war—that the Southern rebellion must be overcome.[3]

This resolve to support the war was not lasting. The congressional elections of 1862 were considered a test of the people's loyalty to the administration and the Democratic gains were interpreted as a condemnation of Lincoln's policies in general and of emancipation in particular.[4] On December 22 the *Times* warned Lincoln that if he carried out his plan of permanent emancipation on January 1, after the opposition exhibited in the elections, he could not hope for further aid from the Democratic party. The proclamation would alter the whole character of the war, Storey claimed, and make it "a war not only of subversion of the political constitution of the country, but of sudden, radical and inevitably ruinous revolution in the social and industrial relations of the people. It will make it a war to liberate and enfranchise four millions of semi-savage negroes and to establish them as the peoples of the sovereign States." With the publication of the final proclamation on January 1, 1863, Storey expressed his opinion in the following editorial:[5]

The deed is done—the deed which unites the people of the South forever in their rebellion, and divides the people of the

[1] *Ibid.*, Sept. 23, 24, 26, 30; Oct. 2, 6, 1862.
[2] *Ibid.*, Sept. 24, 1862.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.* Oct. 17; Nov. 6, 7, 1862.
[5] *Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 1863.

North as to the further prosecution of the war—the deed which converts the war from a constitutional contest for the integrity of the Union to an unconstitutional crusade for the liberation of three millions of negro barbarians and their enfranchisement as citizens—the deed which destroys the last hope of the preservation of the old government and inaugurates a future dark, uncertain and dreary—the deed which is as unwarranted in military as it is in civil law, against the purposes of which the humanity of Christendom will protest, and to avert the consequences of which European powers will interfere. The deed is done. The craziest abolitionism has achieved the very acme of its desires. The end for which the war was commenced by the dominant party—the separation of the Union and an armed anti-slavery crusade—has been reached. . . . It is not a deed without a name. It will be known in all history as the most wicked, atrocious and revolting deed recorded in the annals of civilization.

This marked a turning point in the position of the *Times*. Soon Storey began to advise peace and later to demand it. His criticism of the emancipation measure continued throughout the war. He concluded that Lincoln rightly called it a "war measure" since "it was designed, and is calculated, to protract the war indefinitely, and it answers its expectations as no other policy of the administration has done."[1] Ten months after the proclamation was made the *Times* declared that:[2] "For the real and designed effect of the proclamation; for the devastation it has needlessly wrought in the territory of the South; for the bitterness it has added to sectional hatred; for the division it has caused in the loyal States, and for the lives of our soldiers uselessly sacrificed because of its prolongation of the war, its authors should be held to a most rigid responsibility."

No other issue of the war had such an important part in alienating Storey as emancipation. He sincerely believed that only the States had the right to control slavery and was as thoroughly convinced that the Constitution should be maintained even in the exigencies of war. He was equally earnest in thinking that emancipation would do more than anything else to prolong the struggle between the States. He was therefore critical of Lincoln's every move in the direction of emancipation; he regretted the President's vacillation and tendency to yield to the abolitionists, and broke with

[1] *Ibid.*, Sept. 24, 1863.
[2] *Ibid.*, Nov. 4, 1863.

him finally when emancipation was proclaimed. Accusing Lincoln of inconsistency, Storey remained consistent throughout on this issue. Concerning the conduct of the war itself he displayed a similar tendency. In spite of intermittent criticism he aided and encouraged the continuance of the war so long as he believed it was fought for the legitimate purpose of restoring the Southern States to the Union. When he concluded that it had become a partisan struggle to free the negroes and advance the fortunes of the abolitionist party his criticism became more bitter and his support less active.

CHAPTER III

THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR

Storey's attitude toward Lincoln in the actual conduct of the war is best indicated in editorials concerning appointments to command and treatment of commanders. In the early weeks of the war the government was criticized for its inefficiency, laxity and failure to realize the strength of the South and the seriousness of the conflict. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, was heartily disliked and accused of corruption; his removal was a constant demand of the *Times*. With the appointment of George B. McClellan as commander of the Army of the East, however, Storey reported that "order and vigor seem to have superseded disorder and laxity."[1] Storey was a great admirer of McClellan and followed his career enthusiastically. Soon after his appointment the *Times* expressed general satisfaction with the military situation in an editorial suggestively entitled "Sunlight:"[2]

The prospects of a vigorous prosecution of the war are now so bright as to encourage every patriotic heart. . . . McClellan's army is advancing slowly and surely to engage and defeat the forces of General Johnston. Enormous naval expeditions are fitting out on the coast. . . . And lastly, the changes in the Department of the West—especially in appointing such men as Wool, Sherman and Hunter, all *fighting* Generals, to command—at length realize the grand scheme of hostilities which literally surrounds the rebels with a wall of fire, and places the superior wealth and numbers of the North in the best attitude for offensive operations. . . .

[1] *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1861.
[2] *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1861.

We are now in the second era of the war. The first was characterized by bragging, grumbling, defeat. We really forgot the South had six or seven weeks the start of us in preparations. But we have learned a great deal. . . .

During the fall of 1861 Storey was actively engaged in defending McClellan against the demands of the Republican press for an immediate move southward.[1] He pointed to McDowell's fiasco at Bull Run as an example of too great haste and urged the people to be patient. He finally became convinced that McClellan was the object of a Republican conspiracy and that men in high office were doing all in their power to prevent his success.[2] This belief was partially dispelled when Lincoln dismissed Cameron and appointed E. M. Stanton in his place. The importance of this change could "scarcely be over-estimated," said the *Times*. "A Democrat succeeds an abolitionist in the Cabinet!" This move "determines that the war shall be solely for the preservation of the Union and the constitution, and not for the abolition of slavery, and that the corruptions which have disgraced the War Department under Mr. Cameron shall cease—for Mr. Stanton is a pure man as well as a democrat."[3]

The *Times* was as much interested in the naval phase of the war as in the military, although there was no great naval hero comparable to McClellan to applaud and defend. Storey considered Secretary Welles incompetent and corrupt and began demanding his dismissal during the first year of the war.[4] When Welles was accused of having given important naval contracts to a "grocer" brother-in-law, the demands for removal became insistent.[5] Referring to Cameron's appointment as Minister to Russia, the *Times* concluded:[6]

We suppose Secretary Welles, of the Navy Department, will be respectfully invited to resign by and by, and will be provided with an important and honorable foreign mission, after his imbecility to call it by no harsher name, shall become patent to all the world, and after he shall have wasted millions upon millions of the public treasure upon relations, partisan favorites and other speculators in the misfortunes of the country. . . . Meanwhile, the va-

[1] *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 23, 26, 30, 1861.
[2] *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1862.
[3] *Ibid.*, Jan. 14, 1862.
[4] *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 29; Sept. 4, 1861.
[5] *Ibid.*, Dec. 23, 1861.
[6] *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1862.

rious naval expeditions will fail by reason of the unseaworthiness of the old hulks of which they are composed.

From the outset of the war Storey had advocated the blockade of Southern ports and had criticized the government for not taking action against New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston and others.[1] Thus the successful expedition against Fort Hatteras, the naval victory at Beaufort under Commodore Dupont, and General Burnside's expedition at Savannah were highly praised. These victories, together with those at Forts Henry and Donelson in the West called forth the following vindication of McClellan:[2] "This conjuncture of events . . . . must be an exact realization of General McClellan's plan to cut the rebellion in two in the middle by the seizure of the railroad communications between the Atlantic and the Mississippi and the junction of the Union armies of the East and West." Storey was incensed when Republican newspapers accredited these victories to the fact that Lincoln had taken direct control of military affairs. This "allegation is as false as abolitionism is false to every generous and honest and patriotic impulse. The President is one of the last civilians in the country who would esteem himself competent to conduct military movements. His good sense has been conspicuous in this respect."[3]

As spring advanced and McClellan made little progress the conviction that he was the subject of a conspiracy grew. When Storey heard a rumor that Stanton headed an intrigue against the general and was withholding troops to prevent his success, he warned the secretary that "A hastily made idol is easily torn to pieces by the hands that made it."[4] Later he reported that the people had lost confidence in Stanton since his ambitions had led him to interfere with McClellan's plans.[5] The *Times* finally concluded that Lincoln, Stanton and other abolition leaders would not support McClellan for fear a great victory would so increase his popularity with the people that he would be swept into the Presidency.[6] The people were

[1] *Ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1861.
[2] *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1862.
[3] *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1862.
[4] *Ibid.*, April 22, 1862.
[5] *Ibid.*, April 28; May 1, 1862.
[6] *Ibid.*, June 10, 12, 14, 18; July 4, 1862.

warned that unless they insisted upon McClellan having a free hand and active support in carrying on the war the rebellion would become endless and the nation involved in a great foreign war.

The appointment of H. W. Halleck in July, 1862, as General-in-Chief of the land forces of the North was praised as a move in the right direction. Storey lauded Halleck as a general and a conservative and declared that he superseded as General-in-Chief the Cabinet at Washington — "not one of whom has the slightest education in the art of war — and committees of the two houses of Congress — each of whom is as innocent of military knowledge as the Cabinet."[1] Soon after this appointment the *Times* expressed its satisfaction: "Upon one thing the President may rely. He has gained the perfect confidence of the great conservative element of the country."[2] Halleck did not prove as successful as Storey had predicted. By September he was being criticized because the situation in Virginia did not improve. It was suggested that Halleck had been unwise in placing the divisions of the army under separate command and that it might be well for him to take the field himself rather than attempt to direct affairs from Washington.[3]

In the face of the fall elections the *Times* declared that the only hope of military success lay in sustaining the President and the conservative generals.[4] The elections over, the tone of the editorials changed. On November 5 Lincoln removed McClellan from command, thus arousing Storey to unusual vehemence. He had been McClellan's ardent advocate from the beginning and his removal was to have an important effect on Storey's whole war policy. Day after day[5] he denounced Lincoln for his action, which was considered especially despicable since the offence for which McClellan was supposedly removed (failure to follow up the battle of Antietam by a hurried march into Virginia) had not been committed until elections had been held in New York, Illinois

[1] *Ibid.*, July 28, 1862.
[2] *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1862.
[3] *Ibid.*, Sept. 6, 1862.
[4] *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1862.
[5] Ibid., Nov. 10, 11, 13, 20, 21, 1862.

and several other states:[1] "Thus, putting the best face on the administration view of the matter, the question of the removal of McClellan was made subordinate to the political election; for more than a month at a most critical season, the great interests of the war were left to suffer, lest by another course, the partisan interests of the administration would suffer."

The break of the *Times* which began with Lincoln's preliminary statement of September 22, 1862, was greatly hastened by this removal of a favorite general, and became final with the emancipation proclamation of January 1, 1863. General Burnside's defeat at Fredericksburg was considered chiefly as a commentary on McClellan's removal:[2] "The disaster is fruit of the same incompetency and folly and imbecility which have presided in Washington from the day Mr. Lincoln entered upon an office for which he had not a single qualification. It is fruit of the same wild and reckless fanaticism and of the same malicious partisan bigotry and ignorance and hate which have controlled the policy of the administration from the beginning."

These are harsh words and not in keeping with Storey's earlier reaction to Lincoln. During the first year and a half of the war Storey had supported him, and while not always complimentary, had praised policies which seemed conservative and consistent with the alleged purpose of the war. Now the *Times* began to talk of peace. An early expression of this was the following: "We believe the Union can be restored without another day of war. We do not believe slavery can be overthrown by endless war."[3] Every suggestion for peace, whether of Fernando Wood or Governor Horatio Seymour of New York, gained strong support in the *Times*. Storey even suggested a conference of those border, Northern and Southern states having Democratic or conservative legislatures to consider terms of peace.[4] June found him declaring that union and peace were the demands of the Democratic party in Illinois and that these must be the demands of all Northern con-

[1] *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1862.
[2] *Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1862.
[3] *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1862.
[4] *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1863.

servatives.[1] When Major Oglesby stated his fears that the South might offer terms of peace before its subjugation was complete, the *Times* countered with the following editorial:[2]

> But the people of the North do not share in these apprehensions. And, as they are afflicted with an Executive who has become possessed of a mania for blood in the cause of negro emancipation, they intend, at the earliest possible moment, to displace their recreant and unworthy public servant, who has become their tyrant and oppressor, and supplant him by a man who loves the Union for the blessings it confers, and who will not continue to squander the nation's treasure, to pour out the nation's blood, and trample upon the nation's most cherished liberties, year after year, until the wicked policies of New England abolitionism are pushed to triumph.

Not alone by playing up the desirability of peace and by condemning Lincoln and his associates for continuing the war in their own interests did the *Times* influence the people against the war and thereby gain for itself the opprobrium of "copperhead." It repeatedly denounced conscription and ridiculed the idea of men volunteering to carry on a partisan war. When the war began Storey had favored conscription; his idea was to bring the struggle to an immediate conclusion, and he believed conscription to be necessary. As early as September 13, 1861, he declared that the Constitution provided the government with powers sufficient for drafting. Lincoln's adoption of partial conscription in the summer of 1862 met with the *Times*' hearty approval. However, it refused to support the regular conscription act of 1863, declaring that the changed policies of the government made it impossible.[3] Opposition was expressed more fully in the following editorial:[4]

> There are two reasons why the conscription is odious. The first is, the political policies of the war, which democrats, at least, believe to be unconstitutional, and under which they believe the Union can never be restored; and the second is, the military management of the war, which will bring disaster, humiliation and disgrace hereafter as surely as it has brought

[1] *Ibid.*, June 19, 1863.
[2] *Ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1863.
[3] *Ibid.*, Mar. 9, 1863.
[4] *Ibid.*, July 3, 1863.

them heretofore, and by which every battle fought is a cruel and useless waste of life. . . .

When riots occurred in New York over the operation of the draft Storey sympathized with the rioters and praised Governor Seymour, who promised the workers he would do all in his power to have the draft suspended.[1]

The Proclamation for Volunteers, which was issued on October 17, 1863, was considered by the *Times* an acknowledgment of the failure of conscription. But, Storey asked, if troops could not be raised by volunteers before the conscription act, was it probable that they could be so raised after conscription had failed?[2] He urged all who supported the policies of the administration to enlist, but declared that Democrats should not be asked to fight a war the purpose of which they could not approve. The volunteer system was further criticized as unfair since the quotas for the several States were fixed without taking into account the extent to which previous quotas had been filled. As usual New England was fortunate, for she was proverbially slow in furnishing men.[3] The promise of the governments of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa to furnish within twenty days 85,000 men for service without that number being credited to them on their regular quota was declared unnecessary and unfair by Storey, who said that again the West was doing more than its share.[4] The *Times* opposed the conscription act of 1865 for the same reasons that it had advanced in opposing all efforts to raise troops since 1863; in addition the quotas for Cook County were considered extremely excessive.[5]

Paradoxical as it may seem, Storey, even while criticizing Lincoln and demanding peace, continued to rejoice at every Union victory. True, he considered each an occasion for offering amnesty terms to the South and concluded that peace was possible only after some definitive success. The admiration he had lavished on McClellan was in part diverted to a new hero, General U. S. Grant, although McClellan never lacked

[1] *Ibid.*, Aug. 18; Sept. 2, 1863.
[2] *Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1863.
[3] *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1863.
[4] *Ibid.*, April 27, 1864.
[5] *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 17, 18, 20, 1865.

a defender in the *Times*. According to Storey, Grant's victories in the West were made possible largely because he was relatively free from interference from Washington.[1] Generals Pope, Burnside and Hooker were scored for inefficiency although part of the blame for their failures was placed on Lincoln and Stanton. Generals Meade and Buell received higher praise from Storey, who thought they might have achieved greater success had not their activities been nullified by Lincoln's orders.[2] The appointment of General Butler to command the Department of Eastern Virginia and North Carolina was deprecated as partisan in character and gave occasion for praise of General Buell, who was considered "with one exception, the best officer in the service." The *Times* declared, however, that Buell would not be given a command since he was not an abolitionist:[3] "He [Buell] is banished to retirement, while Butler, the hero of Big Bethel, looms up in all the splendor of a leader of armies. So are the momentous public interests, so are the lives of American soldiers, sacrificed to the uses of a political party."

The inactivity of union forces in the East during the fall of 1863 was laid to the partisan nature of the war. According to the *Times:*[4]

> Offensive military operations on our side have been practically suspended. Why? Not because the weather and roads are unfavorable. Nor because our armies are too small. Not at all. But because it is contrary to the political interest of abolitionism to bring the war to a close. Because to bring the war to a speedy close, and permit such insurgent States as would, to resume their places in the Union, would be the destruction of the abolition party organization and open the way to a reconstruction of the Union on the basis of the integrity of all the states. Therefore, offensive military operations have been stopped, the war is to be prolonged until after the Presidential election, and after that, if abolitionism shall have been successful, only the Lord knows what will come. Never before, in the history of civil government, have great public interests been made to subserve so completely the partisan interests of a partisan organization.

[1] *Ibid.*, July 8, 1863.
[2] *Ibid.*, July 2, 1863.
[3] *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1863.
[4] *Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1863.

In January, 1864, this note of pessimism was reiterated in the following editorial:[1]

Why should the war stop? From an abolition standpoint, there is no reason why it should not be continued until the hour when graveyards yawn under the blast of Gabriel's trumpet. On the other hand, the only inducements to cease the work of destruction are the claims of humanity; opposed to these are all the blandishments of power and the possession of wealth, such as would shame even the unlimited profusion of the Augustine era. No man of the dominant party is so insignificant as to be prevented from reaping at least a respectable share of the golden honors which are distributed as freely by the administration as monarchs of old flung gold to the populace from their carriage windows.

The powers that rule us are drunk with blood and authority; people have become mad, and today society and morals run riot as unlimitedly as did the citizens of Rome during the Saturnalia; and we present in our gaiety and revelry as horrible a paradox as was shown by those doomed victims of the guillotine who, just before their execution, joined hands and circled in the frenzied hilarity of a 'Dance of Death.'

Despite this pessimism, however, the *Times* found now and then a gleam to lighten the gloom-shrouded nation. General Grant had been successful in the West and Storey expressed his "thanks to heaven" that Grant had been so far removed from the meddling efforts of the War Department that victory was possible.[2] As a reward for his services and in hopes of similar success in the East Grant was offered the position of Lieutenant-General of all Union forces, an office created especially for him. Storey opposed his acceptance of this office and declared that:[3]

It is a cunning plan of the Presidential Momus to remove a dangerous rival; by so doing, he has as he imagines, displaced a man who threatens to dispute his right to the succession and at the same time gathered under his banners the friends of General Grant in the West.

To General Grant the worst misfortune that has ever happened is this appointment; for he will sink at once from the position of an audacious, successful leader, to that of an office drudge at Washington. If he is as sensible as we be-

[1] *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1864.
[2] *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1863.
[3] *Ibid.*, Feb. 29, 1864.

lieve him to be, he will either quietly pocket his new commission or else throw it in the fire, and continue, as heretofore, to lead in person his victorious armies.

However, Grant in accepting the office, expressed his desire for absolute authority, and Storey was reassured.

The campaign of 1864 was undoubtedly closely tied up with the impending Presidential election, but the *Times* probably overplayed this relationship. Every move of the army was explained in the light of Lincoln's desire for re-election. The situation in Virginia under Grant's leadership was improving, Storey thought. He praised Grant for his policy of concentrating troops and of simultaneous action among the various divisions of the army, and especially for maintaining his independence of the administration. When on June 4, 1864, his army occupied practically the same position that McClellan's had on June 4, 1862, the final vindication of the latter general began. Later when Grant again followed McClellan's example in taking a position on the James river as a base of operations, both generals received high praise.[1] The Union victories at Nashville and in Kentucky, together with Sherman's success, brought hope to the nation as to the *Times'* editor. The victories which followed Lincoln's re-election brought forth renewed demands for peace, and the editorials of the spring of 1865 vacillated between bitter indictments of Lincoln for not ending the war and earnest appeals for generous amnesty terms. Lincoln's assassination and the final declaration of peace led to a consideration of the problems of reconstruction and the new President's ability to meet them.

This brief survey of Storey's reaction to the manner in which the war was carried on shows the same tendency toward consistency that was evident in his attitude toward Lincoln's treatment of the slavery issue. Perhaps the personal element was a greater factor here than in the emancipation fight, for Storey was extremely loyal to his friends, and the removal of McClellan exerted a greater influence on him than it would have on men of less intense natures. His loyalty blinded him to McClellan's faults and led to the belief

[1] *Ibid.*, June 16, 1864.

that the general was the victim of a conspiracy. This only increased the bitter feeling already aroused against Lincoln by the President's other acts. This bitterness was directed especially against Secretary of the Treasury Chase when the *Times* considered the various attempts to finance the war. Only incidentally was Lincoln criticized for this unfortunate appointment.

CHAPTER IV

FINANCING THE WAR

Even a cursory study of Storey's reactions to the methods used to secure funds for the war reveal three characteristics which figured largely in his attitude. First of all he was a Democrat, and his position on economic questions was often determined by his political affiliation. In the second place, he was extremely jealous of the dominant position of the East, and was constantly defending Western interests against Eastern encroachments. And finally, he believed in the rights of the laboring class and fought against its subjugation by the capitalist and the manufacturer. The position of the *Times* on all important financial measures of the war, whether of taxation, tariff, currency or banking, was largely determined by these characteristics of the editor.

Storey believed that a large share of the cost of the war should be met by taxation. However, the first tax measure which apportioned the sum of $20,000,000 among the States was denounced as unfair since it placed a disproportionate burden upon the West.[1] The boast of Lincoln's western supporters that the Chicago convention had taught Easterners that the sceptre of power had passed from the Atlantic to the Northwest and that henceforth western interests would receive more consideration, was declared ridiculous in the face of this revenue law. According to the *Times* the lesson learned was quite a different one:[2] "The moral they carried home was, that there are more men in the West than in the East, but less personal property. They, therefore, with true Yankee shrewdness, have turned the discovery to account by

[1] *Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1861.
[2] *Ibid.*, Aug. 15, 1861.

the imposition of a direct tax and the ingenious device of the income tax." The tax measure was not only unjust in that it forced the agricultural classes to pay part of the manufacturers' burden of the war, Storey argued, but it was definitely partisan in character and bore out his criticism that the entire conduct of the war was partisan, and that the "political Bourbons in Congress . . . . had at once begun to run riot with wild ambition, and to regard the country's agony as their providential opportunity."[1]

Eagerly awaiting the imminent meeting of Congress, the *Times* pointed out to western Senators and Representatives that it was their duty to repeal the tax law and to introduce a substitute which would operate upon the people in an equitable manner. For the enlightenment of Illinois congressmen and the public it discussed its ideas regarding taxation thoroughly:[2]

We have already shown that, while under the constitution 'direct taxation must be apportioned among the States according to population,' it is not the only method of raising revenue for Federal purposes. The taxes so apportioned can only be levied upon land,—and therefore all the personal property—the goods, stocks, and capital of the wealthy—an immense part of the riches of the nation—escape a share of the public burdens. The income tax is only a feeble attempt to obviate the difficulty, or, rather, a blind to create the belief that it is obviated. It only applies to incomes above and exclusive of the amount of $800. If a railroad operator, with a hundred thousand dollars worth of stock, receives no dividends, and consequently no income, he escapes the tax,—although he is really worth a hundred thousand dollars. . . . But a farmer who owns land must pay his direct tax, whatever his income may be. The amount of his profits has nothing to do with his liability.

We do not like this feature of the present Federal tax law. All the property of the country is interested in the present struggle, and all of it should therefore help to defray the expenses of it. . . . Our farmers, the principal land-owners of the country, are very patriotic, and will do whatever is right and necessary for them to do to crush this rebellion, but *they will not be satisfied to carry the whole load,* for that is practically what is proposed. The sources from which the principal

[1] *Ibid.*, Aug. 16, 1861.
[2] *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1861.

and interest on the national debt must be paid are twofold: the customs and the taxes. As consumers, they contribute enormously to the first, and as proprietors, under the present system, almost exclusively to the last. Is this right?

Congress in session seemed to give more consideration to the problems of the negro than to those of financing the war and Storey finally concluded that the Republicans would not pass a revenue measure because they feared the necessarily heavy tax would adversely affect their chances for re-election.[1] This failure to meet the financial problems of the war led him to a further denunciation of the way in which the Eastern States dominated the government in their own interest. New England in particular was accused of shirking its obligations. That section, he claimed, paid less taxes according to population and wealth, and at the same time profited more from the war than any section of the Union. On the other hand the West was paying more than its share of taxes because New England congressmen insisted upon the constitutional dictum of direct taxes according to representation. The West also suffered financially through the destruction of the southern market and through the operation of the Morrill tariff which, Storey said, took money from the western people to swell the profits of eastern manufacturers. "There is no negro in this conflict between New England and the West; let New England see to it that the conflict does not become irrepressible, . . . " was the warning of the *Times*.[2]

The revenue law of 1862 which Congress finally passed did not please the Chicago editor and he denounced it particularly because of "the multiplication of taxes, and their levy upon such a great variety of articles and transactions, coupled with the extensive machinery and offices for their collection."[3] Operation of the law did not increase its popularity. Its analysis proved to Storey that it worked a serious hardship on the farmer and laboring class, for many articles of ordinary use were taxed. Often in addition to the internal tax there was a tariff duty on articles classed as necessities, such as

[1] *Ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1862.
[2] *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1862.
[3] *Ibid.*, June 27, 1862.

those made of cotton, wool, worsted, paper, leather, flax, hemp, rubber, copper, iron and lead which made the prices of those commodities abnormally high. Since the manufacturer merely added the tariff duty to the price of the articles he did not suffer.[1] Dissatisfaction with the system of taxation increased, and by 1864 the *Times* was demanding a new revenue measure. Storey favored the increased whisky tax but considered it inadequate.[2] The bill introduced by Mr. Morrill and later adopted by Congress, although providing for increased taxation, did not win the approval of the *Times,* since it resembled all earlier measures in placing the burden of the war upon the West. Taxes upon whisky, tobacco and slaughtered stock, all western products, would provide about half the revenue. The tax on articles of ordinary use as enumerated in the revenue act of 1862 was raised from three per cent to five per cent. This was a hardship for the laboring classes, while the first provision "discriminated in favor of the eastern and against the western States."[3]

Storey's attitude toward the tariff was characteristically Democratic. He opposed the Morrill tariff of 1861, claiming that it alienated not only the South but Europe as well.[4] It was designed, he said, not to produce revenue but to give New England and the other Eastern States a monopoly for their products with the consumers paying the burden of the tariff.[5]

The West must pay into the pockets of the East an amount equal to the tariff upon their articles of consumption, or the tariff upon the imported article. And as the tariff was designed for protection and not for revenue, the remainder of the means necessary to pay the expenses of the government, the war debt and the war expenses, must be laid directly upon the people by direct taxation.

This idea was constantly reiterated. After the passage of the tax and tariff measures of 1862, the *Times,* in criticizing Secretary Chase for his financial policies, suggested that had Chase been retained "as attorney for the capitalists, stock

[1] *Ibid.,* April 20, 1863.
[2] *Ibid.,* Feb. 5, 6, 19, 1864.
[3] *Ibid.,* April 13, 1864.
[4] *Ibid.,* Sept. 17, 1861.
[5] *Ibid.,* April 16, 1862.

brokers, and manufacturers of the country, he could not more effectually forward their interests than in his present and prospective management." It continued with the following:[1]

It is beyond question that the producing classes—farmers, laborers, mechanics, and those with but small capital—are bearing the burden of the war; and of these classes, those in the western States are most heavily pressed. There is an unequal and unjust discrimination in favor of the eastern States in both the tax and tariff laws. . . .

Secretary Chase is a western man. He knows that under the operation of existing laws his neighbors pay New England for every article of clothing they purchase. They are taxed, for the benefit of eastern manufacturers, on their shirts, coats, vests, and pantaloons, their wives' chemises, corsets, hoops, dresses and those 'garments of mystical sublimity' nameless to journalism, yet the Secretary requires nothing from Puritan patriots who are fattening upon the spoils of the war. The people want and will have a tax upon the capital of the country. . . .

The tariff bill which passed in 1864 was no more popular with Storey than the revenue measure of the same year. Since he thought the tariff was conceived of the desire to protect the manufacturers from any losses accruing from the internal revenue act, his opposition was only natural.[2]

Upon the subject of loans as a method of securing money to carry on the war, Storey made little comment. The first loan and the response with which the people met it were applauded and Chicago was urged to subscribe to the limit—"to make such an exhibition of her wealth and patriotism as will distinguish her forever in the history of the country."[3] However, later loans were scarcely mentioned. Once, in criticizing Chase, Storey said the secretary had done nothing but "borrow and manufacture money . . . ;"[4] and later he declared that aside from Chase's banking scheme "the sum total of his financiering may be expressed in the three words, issuing and borrowing."[5] These expressions, together with Story's unconcealed contempt for Chase, would lead to the conclusion that later loans did not receive the *Times'* support.

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[1] *Ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1863.
[2] *Ibid.*, April 23, 1864.
[3] *Ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1861.
[4] *Ibid.*, Dec. 16, 1863.
[5] *Ibid.*, April 30, 1864.

Storey was much more definite in his opposition to the issuance of greenbacks. When Congress issued irredeemable paper money, he protested vigorously. He pointed out that "all financial experience, the world over, condemns it as uncertain as a measure of temporary relief to the government, and as eventually disastrous to the credit of the government and to the business relations."[1] In June, 1862, Secretary Chase demanded the authority to issue a second $150,000,000 of treasury notes and again Storey expressed opposition. He described the natural evils of such a currency as:[2] "the stimulating influence on the prices of all the productions of labor, but not of labor itself; the relative increase in the value of real money, and its rapid exportation abroad, until this unnatural condition of affairs breaks down of its own weight, bringing ruin and destruction in its train."

When the greenbacks began to depreciate the *Times* declared that the depreciation was seriously affecting the soldiers and laboring classes through the rise in prices of provisions, groceries and staple goods. The inflation meant great profits for the merchants, manufacturers and capitalists, which was only added proof that the policies of the administration were all for the benefit of one class to the detriment of others.[3] To check continued inflation Congress finally passed the Gold Act giving Chase power to sell gold at his discretion, over and above the amount needed to meet the interest on the public debt. Storey considered this unwise, believing that the sale of gold would not long steady the value of the greenbacks. With the price of gold constantly advancing, the *Times* referred to the history of the French *assignats* as proof that speculation in paper money was inevitable.[4] Storey thought the legal tender clause of the paper money bill unconstitutional. He argued that although the Constitution gave Congress the right to borrow and coin money it did not give the power to declare paper money legal tender. For this reason the *Times* expressed deep regret at the decision of the New York Court of Appeals in the first legal tender case

[1] *Ibid.*, Jan. 30, 1862.
[2] *Ibid.*, June 19, 1862.
[3] *Ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1862.
[4] *Ibid.*, June 16, 23, 1864.

which upheld Congress in its action. Although bound by this decision, Storey was anxious to see it reversed in higher courts.[1]

Of all financial measures either proposed or adopted by the administration during the war, that providing for a national banking system received the most determined opposition from the *Times*. In his treasury report of 1861 Chase discussed his scheme—one which provided for the issue of government notes to existing or newly formed banks which should secure the government by the deposit of federal bonds. While praising the report as "the only really able State paper which this administration has produced, ..." Storey would not accept the proposed plan.[2] Nor would Congress at the time. When Chase repeated his suggestion for a national bank the following year, the *Times* still opposed it and regretted that Chase was to remain in the Cabinet since he had "destroyed the currency and credit of the government."[3] Storey predicted that the banking scheme, if adopted, would result in "national bankruptcy and general suspension of business."[4] After Congress passed the National Banking Act he referred to it as:[5]

> a lever which the Secretary of the Treasury hopes will hoist him into the Presidency. The officers of the bank are his agents for the advancement of his claims in the Presidential race. Under the present banking law he can wield an influence more potent in directing the elections of the country than was ever possessed by the Old United States Bank. The establishment of these institutions in the country is simply the multiplying of agencies for corruption and bribery. . . . No objection was urged against the old bank of the United States which is not valid against the existing banking law. . . . It is a scheme to centralize capital, control the government, and build up a moneyed aristocracy.

This banking system, which soon drove out most of the state banks, Storey considered one of the two permanent policies which the Republican party succeeded in fastening upon the nation during the war. The second was the protective

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[1] *Ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1863.
[2] *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 13, 1861.
[3] *Ibid.*, Dec. 23, 1862.
[4] *Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1862.
[5] *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1863.

tariff. These policies, even when considered temporary, had been severely criticized by the *Times*; they were more deeply deprecated when their permanent nature was recognized.[1]

With the end of the war in sight, Storey predicted a financial panic, from which he felt the country could not escape. In his prediction he reiterated his belief that the cost of the war should have been met primarily by taxation and that inflation inevitably meant ruin. "In a purely dollar-and-cent view of the history of this country during the last four years, the nation would today have been richer had the people been forced to contribute from their pockets every dollar in gold as fast as it was needed to carry on the war. There would have been left less seeming, but more actual wealth."[2] It is quite evident that Chase's methods of meeting the exigencies of the war were no more pleasing to the *Times* than were Lincoln's solution of the slavery problem and the military conduct of the war. Both Lincoln's and Chase's policies often violated the Constitution and discriminated in favor of the Republican party, and those of Chase at least worked great hardship upon certain geographic sections and economic groups. With such hostility toward the leaders of the nation it is not surprising that Storey's support of the war was no more active. The suppression of his paper for a short period in the summer of 1863 only increased his bitterness and doubled his demands for peace.

CHAPTER V

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TIMES

No Study of the *Times* should omit mention of the dramatic suppression of that organ, an action which made many for the first time cognizant of its existence. This event is closely related to Storey's constant insistence on the maintenance of civil liberties as guaranteed by the Constitution, and to his apostasy from Lincoln. It was not by chance alone that it occurred in June, 1863, just a few months after Storey declared that he could no longer support a war for the emanci-

[1] *Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1865.
[2] *Ibid.*, Mar. 17, 1865.

pation of negroes and a President who, waging such a war, dismissed his most able generals for purely partisan reasons.

From the beginning of the war Storey expressed his belief that the civil rights of trial by jury, freedom from martial law and freedom of speech and press should be maintained throughout the struggle. One of his earliest statements was made in August, 1861, when in deploring mob action against a Democratic editor in Massachusetts he declared that:[1]

"We believe in freedom of speech and the press, unchecked by anything save responsibility to the law of the land. Wicked and treasonable as we believe abolitionists and secessionists to be, they must have their legal rights everywhere." Lincoln's declaration of martial law in certain districts of the country and the partial suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* in the fall of 1861 was considered both foolish and wicked:[2] foolish because it is an unnecessary surrender of civil rights to military dictation—wicked, because it would convince the whole civilized world that treason is so rife and strong in all the loyal States that the civil authorities are powerless to deal with it, and it can only be repressed by bayonets."

The *Times* looked upon military arrest of civilians with suspicion and urged the release of political prisoners. As the number of arrests increased and the suspension of the *habeas corpus* was extended the whole issue of personal liberties became a part of the congressional elections of 1862:[3]

The grand issue in this contest of whether the constitution of the United States shall be preserved embraces subissues, some of which are scarcely inferior in importance to the grand issue. The *habeas corpus*, the right of trial by jury, the freedom of speech and of the press, existed before the constitution, and were only perpetuated by it. But it does not follow that if the constitution should be struck down they would survive. They would not survive. It is through them that the constitution will be struck down. It is upon them that the assault has first been made. *They are suspended today*, and the abolition position, proclaimed by its candidates and sustained by its press, is that THE PRESIDENT HAS THE RIGHT TO SUSPEND THEM!

[1] *Ibid.*, Aug. 26, 1861.
[2] *Ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1861.
[3] *Ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1862.

These, we say, are the immediate issues before the people today, and they are the most momentous issues upon which the American people have ever been called to pass. They are greater, in fact, than the question of the perpetuity of the Union, for what would the Union be worth without personal liberty? What would the Union be worth without the *habeas corpus,* the right of trial by jury, the freedom of speech and of the press?

Storey observed the military arrests which were made in the fall of 1862 with regret and fear. The imprisonment of seventeen "law-abiding" citizens of Indianapolis within a period of three or four days caused consternation,[1] as did the arrest of D. A. Mahoney, editor of the Dubuque (Iowa) *Herald.*[2] This feeling of fear was only partially dissipated when Secretary Stanton issued orders that all persons in military custody who had been arrested for discouraging enlistments or opposing the draft or for giving aid to the enemy should be dismissed in those sections where the draft had been met or the quota of volunteers filled. Since the order did not give the prisoners any opportunity for trial, the *Times* withheld its approval:[3] "This order of release is not, then, a meritorious act. It is, as every other act in connection with these arbitrary arrests has been, an act of wrong and outrage and oppression. . . . It is discharging men by the dozen without trial, without information as to the charges on which they have been held, and without any reparation whatever. . . ."

With Congress in session in 1863 there was a long debate to determine whether the President or Congress had the right to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus.* Storey championed the latter and when Congress settled the problem by giving Lincoln the power to suspend the writ "whenever, in his judgment, the public safety may require it, ... in any case throughout the United States or any part thereof . . . . the *Times* expressed hearty disfavor. "No despot in the Old World," wrote Storey, "not the Emperor of China—has more absolute and irresponsible control over the subject than the bill gives the President over the liberty of the citizen."[4]

[1] *Ibid.,* Nov. 3, 1862.
[2] *Ibid.,* Nov. 25, 1862.
[3] *Ibid.,* Nov. 27, 1862.
[4] *Ibid.,* Mar. 6, 1863.

The arrest of Judge Constable in March, 1863, was declared "a wanton outrage—alike an insult to the sovereignty of the State, a trespass upon the independence and security of the judiciary, and an assault upon the last refuge of civil liberty in this country."[1] When this was followed a few weeks later by the arrest of Clement L. Vallandigham in Ohio, Storey's denunciation of Lincoln reached great heights. This arrest was "one of the worst cases of illegal and arbitrary proceeding against an individual by which the administration at Washington have shocked the sensibilities of the country," Storey declared.[2] After Vallandigham's trial and sentence, the Times charged indignantly:[3]

Boldly, defiantly, then, the administration has suspended the freedom of speech! Boldly and defiantly it has proclaimed that its measures shall not be publicly discussed, if the discussion be inimical! Boldly and defiantly, it has put away the written law, by which itself has an existence, and set up the rule of a military despotism! We do not exaggerate. The proceedings against Mr. Vallandigham are in absolute violation of the plainest and most mandatory constitutional provisions, and have not a peg of legality to stand upon. They are the exercise of an arbitrary power which the President has no more right to exercise than we have.

Almost within a week of this protest, General Burnside issued a not-unexpected order suppressing the *Times*. There had been much criticism of Storey's disunion sentiments. As early as June 25, 1862, Senator O. P. Morton of Indiana wrote to Secretary Stanton urging action against a group of newspapers, including the *Times*, which were, he claimed, "doing incalculable injury to the Union cause, not, it is true, openly and in plain terms but by invidious, malignant, and vituperative attacks upon Union men, and their continued apologies for the crimes committed by the leaders of the rebellion. . . ."[4] On August 7 of the same year Governor Yates of Illinois wrote Stanton asking for authority to declare martial law in the State, and in his letter he declared that "there is an urgent and almost unanimous demand from the loyal citizens that the

[1] *Ibid.*, Mar. 18, 1863.
[2] *Ibid.*, May 7, 1863.
[3] *Ibid.*, May 22, 1863.
[4] *War of the Rebellion, Official Record,* Series III, vol. II, Serial No. 123, 176.

Chicago *Times* should be immediately suppressed for giving aid and comfort to the enemy."[1] With Storey's increasing bitterness and insistence on peace after January 1, 1863, it is not surprising that the Chicago Board of Trade and the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association boycotted the *Times*,[2] and that its sale was prohibited on the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad.[3] General Hurlbut also forbade its circulation in the military department of Tennessee.[4]

On June 1 General Burnside issued General Order Number 84 which read in part: "On account of the repeated expressions of disloyal and incendiary sentiments, the publication of the newspaper known as the Chicago *Times* is hereby suppressed."[5] Troops arrived from Camp Douglas on June 3 to take charge of the *Times* establishment, but were unable to prevent a partial issue of the paper for that day.[6] Within a few hours of the occupation of the *Times* building a meeting of prominent citizens of both parties agreed unanimously that Lincoln should be requested by telegraph to rescind General Burnside's order,[7] for it was known that he had acted without orders from Washington. This public demand, signed by such men as F. C. Sherman, William Ogden, E. Van Buren, Samuel Fuller, S. S. Hayes, Wirt Dexter, A. C. Coventry and C. Beckwith was given additional force by a telegram signed by Senator Lyman Trumbull and Representative Isaac N. Arnold asking Lincoln for immediate action. The General Assembly at Springfield passed resolutions denouncing Burnside's order and a mass meeting in Chicago on the night of June 3 vociferously demanded freedom of the press.[8] It would seem that Governor Yates overstated the case when he said the demand for the suppression of the *Times* was practically unanimous. Those who did not agree with the *Times* evidently felt that more harm would be done the Union cause by eliminating the paper and driving the opposition under ground than by putting up with its circulation.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 316.
[2] Cole, A. C., *The Era of the Civil War* (Chicago, 1922), 303.
[3] The *Times*, Jan. 31; Feb. 2, 1863.
[4] *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1863.
[5] *Official Record*, Series I, Vol. XXIII, 381.
[6] Cole, *op. cit.*, 304.
[7] *Ibid.; Official Record*, Series I, vol. XXIII, 385.
[8] Cole, *op. cit.*, 304; Cook, *op. cit.*, 56.

On June 4 President Lincoln, acting through the Secretary of War, rescinded Burnside's order[1] and on the following day the *Times* continued publication, having missed only a partial issue on June 3 and a complete one on June 4. Storey regretted Lincoln's action in rescinding Burnside's order. Immediately upon its issuance he had applied to the court for an injunction restraining the military suppression of the paper and he had been confident that the judgment of the court would have favored the protection of the press.[2] Naturally the revocation of the order meant that the case would remain unfinished. This disappointment was partially alleviated by the congratulations which Storey received from subscribers, which he considered "cheering evidences of the indorsement by the democracy of the principles we have advocated."[3] True to the predictions of many the circulation of the *Times* was augmented by official interference. The episode, instead of acting as a restraint upon Storey, as might have been the case with a less courageous man, seemed to incense him all the more. One historian of American journalism described Storey's reactions in these words:[4]

His editorial comments, more seditious than ever, caused his paper to be known as "Old Storey's Copperhead Times" and brought frequent threats of destruction to the building and personal violence to the editor. His editorial rooms, now always prepared for a siege, were equipped with loaded muskets and hand-grenades and had a hose so attached that the floor might instantly be flooded with the scalding steam and boiling water from the boilers of the plant. So bitter were some of Storey's editorial comments that when reports of them reached various regiments in service in Union lines, soldiers time and again sent word that upon their return from the war they were going to destroy The Copperhead Times.

Storey's attitude toward the maintenance of civil rights remained the same. When in September, 1863, Lincoln suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* according to the provisions of the Habeas Corpus Act of March, the *Times* declared that there was no need for the suspension and that this was just

[1] *Official Record*, Series I, vol. XXIII, 386.
[2] The *Times*, June 5, 1863.
[3] *Ibid.*, June 9, 1863.
[4] Lee, J. M., *History of American Journalism* (Boston, 1923), 286.

another move on the part of a despotic leader—a move which placed the liberty of every citizen "at the disposal of any military or naval officer of the government."[1] Storey further contended that the authority to suspend the writ was conditional; that Congress alone had the power of suspension in case of rebellion or invasion, provided that public safety demanded it. He refused to agree that Congress could delegate the power of suspension to the President.[2] Great emphasis was placed upon the Supreme Court as final interpreter of the constitution. Only the court, said Storey, had the right to determine whether the conditions justified the action taken.[3] In early 1865, with the end of the war in sight, the *Times* was aroused to bitter denunciation when fifty state prisoners were released without charges. The effects of this curtailment of popular liberty were unknown, it declared:[4]

> We submit that this fact [the arrest of the prisoners without charges] should damn this administration, not only for all time, but, if there be justice hereafter, to all eternity. There is not a single civilized government in existence today against which can be charged a similar display of tyranny. With the title of being the freest government of modern ages, we have shown ourselves to be one whose disregard of right and whose outrageous assumptions of power are only paralleled in the reign of despots.
>
> The liberty of fifty men may seem a small affair; but the matter has not so much reference to the magnitude of the offense as it has to the principle which underlies it. The moment Mr. Lincoln, or Mr. Seward, or any other man, dares to deprive one person of his liberty without due process of law, that moment has the government been changed from one of the people to an autocracy—a tyranny. If any man today is free in this country, it is not because he is a good citizen, surrounded by the protection of the laws, but simply because Seward or Lincoln has not chosen to order his incarceration.
>
> The epitaph of posterity upon this people is easily anticipated. It will be—Died, 24,000,000 of whites, who lost their liberties and lives in an attempt to give a fictitious freedom to 4,000,000 negroes.

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[1] The *Times*, Sept. 17, 1863.
[2] *Ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1863.
[3] *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 21, 23, 1863.
[4] *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1865.

It is difficult to determine how great a part Lincoln's policy with regard to martial law, military arrests and suppression of the press played in the change which took place in Storey's attitude toward him and the war. Certainly he was a great believer in maintaining the civil liberties, and was quick in opposing all measures which threatened them. The suppression of his own paper followed his vehement protest against Vallandigham's sentence. But it is well to remember that General Burnside acted without orders from Washington in suppressing the *Times*. However, neither this fact nor Lincoln's prompt revocation prevented an increased vindictiveness on Storey's part. This was evident in the presidential election of 1864, to which every event of the year was closely related by the *Times*.

CHAPTER VI

THE ELECTION OF 1864

The 1864 campaign began early. Great issues were at stake and wide interest was shown. The division within the Republican party, with Lincoln, Chase and Frémont contending, at different times, for the Presidency lent unusual bitterness to the campaign even as it gave the Democrats additional hope for victory. Storey was greatly interested in the election, looking to it as the only means of relieving the nation of an abolition administration which was more interested in perpetuating itself in power than in concluding the war and preserving the Union. Peace and reconstruction became the bases of the *Times*' campaign. It declared that the abolition party was incapable of a vigorous, honest and constitutional prosecution of the war, and that the Southern States would be willing to acknowledge the authority of the federal government if offered fair terms of peace. This was Storey's doctrine and he preached it continuously. Concerning reconstruction, he defended the integrity of the South. "The only true doctrine concerning the relations of the insurgent States to the Union is that they are still States in the Union. Any other doctrine recognizes the right of secession."[1]

[1] *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1863.

Naturally he denounced the suggestion that the states be reduced to the condition of territories and be permitted to return to the Union only when they had abolished slavery.

Lincoln's amnesty proclamation of December 8, 1863, should have received some consideration from the *Times* as a step in the right direction if nothing more. But although it admitted the right to require from the rebels an oath of allegiance to the Constitution, it considered it grossly unfair to require their acceptance of the emancipation proclamation and other acts concerning slavery. "But," said Storey, "the President was not offering terms to be accepted; he was offering terms not to be accepted."[1] Storey believed these terms would only increase the determination of the Southern people to continue their resistance, and appealed to the North for a new President who would bring peace by quicker and fairer methods:[2]

> Do the people want peace and the Union? or, do they indeed want an interminable war and all its concomitants and consequences? If the latter, then they will retain the present administration in power, or create another like it; if the former, then they will create an administration which can and will at the same time make peace and restore the Union.

When the Republican majority in the House voted solidly against a resolution to offer the Southern States the full enjoyment of their constitutional rights with a promise of no external interference with local laws and institutions, the *Times* declared that this action constituted "a declaration of war of subjugation against the South, however willing the South may be to return to her obedience to the constitution."[3]

For the means Lincoln used to secure the nomination at the Baltimore convention, the *Times* had little but contempt. However, the methods to which Chase resorted were considered equally despicable. The Pomeroy Circular, sent out by Chase's friends, was declared "treacherous and ungrateful"; in the same editorial, Lincoln was accused of being "indecently crafty in obtaining indorsements from State Legislatures."[4] When the President used General Gillmore's

[1] *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 1863.
[2] *Ibid.*, Mar. 16, 1864.
[3] *Ibid.*, Mar. 26, 1864.
[4] *Ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1864.

expedition into Florida as an occasion to send John Hay, his personal secretary, to that State to present his plan of reconstruction, he was criticized for sacrificing the lives of Northern soldiers to win votes for his re-election. The expedition proving unsuccessful, Storey declared that "Chase, the New York Tribune and Florida are evidently ahead thus far in the scrub race between them and the present incumbent for the Presidency."[1] Lincoln's reply to a memorial from the colored freedmen of Louisiana asking for the right to vote, in which he said that "he saw no reason why intelligent blacks should not vote," was considered just another electioneering scheme.[2] As we have already noticed, Storey believed the appointment of Grant as Lieutenant-General was made to prevent Grant from becoming an opponent for the Presidency. But all Lincoln's efforts would be in vain, Storey wrote. "Poor old Abe,—a blunderer, a charlatan, a temporizer, a man who jokes when a nation mourns—a crude, illiterate, bar-room witling—is about to receive the reward of his incompetency."[3] When Montgomery Blair delivered in Congress his damaging speech against Chase and was given a command in the army, the action was considered the result of Lincoln's desire to reward him for the injury he had done to Chase's presidential prospects.[4]

The call of the Republican leaders, representing the discontented wing of the administration party and most of the German Republicans, for a presidential convention at Cleveland caused considerable excitement. This split in the Republican party boded ill for Lincoln, especially if Chase should continue gaining influence. The *Times,* however, rejoiced at the move. It saw in the Cleveland group men such as B. Gratz Brown, Wendell Phillips and General John C. Frémont who were dissatisfied with the corruption and despotism of the administration. Storey also realized that the Democrats would have a greater chance of victory in the election. He compared the two impending Republican conventions in the following

[1] *Ibid.*, Mar. 4, 1864.
[2] *Ibid.*, Mar. 6, 1864.
[3] *Ibid.*, April 21, 1864.
[4] *Ibid.*, May 2, 1864.

editorial:[1] "So far as the Cleveland and Baltimore conventions are concerned, the former promises to be more truly conservative than the latter. Those engaged in the movement demand that law shall be respected; while the Baltimore conclave will be pledged to sustain the lawlessness, past, present and to come, of the Lincoln administration."

The *Times* approved the Cleveland convention's choice of Frémont and Cochrane as candidates, and also its platform, especially the expression of respect for the constitution. Storey, however, was most interested in the convention as an assurance of the election of a Democrat. "The Cleveland convention has insured the defeat of Lincoln and the election of a better man than Frémont, for which let us thank God and be grateful," he wrote:[2]

With the Baltimore convention in the immediate offing, Lincoln was indicted for appointing delegates from South Carolina.[3] However, when the convention met and this delegation was rejected, while others from Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee and West Virginia were accepted, the *Times* protested, declaring that the delegates from all those States were "bogus" and those from South Carolina no more so than the others.[4] The withdrawal of Chase on the eve of the convention made Lincoln's renomination almost certain. The platform adopted was considered worthless since it would not shape the policies of Lincoln and his followers, "all of whom find their motives for action and direction not in platforms constructed by shoddy patriots, but in the controlling of 'events' and the suggestion of a higher law."[5]

Shortly before the meeting of the Democratic convention in Chicago Storey outlined the Democratic method of ending the war. This was expressed briefly in the following paragraph:[6]

In detail, the policy of the democracy, after gaining possession of the government, and thus removing the cause of the secession of the South, would be to remedy one by one the

[1] *Ibid.*, May 26, 1864.
[2] *Ibid.*, June 2, 1864.
[3] *Ibid.*, June 1, 1864.
[4] *Ibid.*, June 10, 1864.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, July 2, 1864.

grievances inaugurated by the Republican administration, and against which the South is fighting. They would offer the South the constitution, and with it the guarantee that for all times the rights of the States under that constitution should be preserved inviolate. This would be victory over the rebellion more potent than the taking of a dozen Richmonds or the slaughter of an hundred thousand rebels in arms.

The nomination of McClellan by the Democrats was applauded by the *Times,* which expressed high hopes for a Democratic victory. "The issue of the coming election is very simple," wrote Storey. "It is, whether we shall have twenty years more war to restore the union, or shall have the union without war six months after the election. All in favor of the former will vote for Abraham Lincoln, while those who desire the latter will vote for General George B. McClellan."[1]

Republican methods to win the election in November were considered no more honorable than those used to force Frémont from the field or to gain the nomination at Baltimore.[2] Various state elections produced accusations of fraud and corruption, especially in the army vote. Indiana, for instance, was "carried by the abolitionists by the soldiers' vote,"—only soldiers of that party having been granted furloughs. Storey continued his accusations with the following:[3]

Every election in the army has been a fraudulent one. Democratic soldiers have been bribed and intimidated; their tickets have been destroyed; the officers have felt that their retention of command and chances of promotion were dependent upon their adherence to the administration; democratic newspapers have been excluded from the army and abolition newspapers and documents have been profusely scattered in every company, and the minds of soldiers have been prejudiced by invectives and representations with which these newspapers and documents are loaded.

Such men as Henry Winter Davis and Benjamin Wade were indicted by the *Times* for supporting Lincoln after their earlier opposition.[4] Storey had so heartily approved of the Wade-Davis Manifesto, which had severely criticized the despotic actions of Lincoln, that he had had copies of it printed

[1] *Ibid.,* Oct. 28, 1864.
[2] *Ibid.,* Sept. 24, 1864.
[3] *Ibid.,* Oct. 14, 1864.
[4] *Ibid.,* Oct. 19, 1864.

and sold them for two cents each, carrying daily a short advertisement that they were available. Another example of Lincoln's overwhelming desire for re-election, according to the *Times,* was his refusal to rescind Governor Johnson's order requiring an oath of allegiance from all voters in Tennessee, since "the oath required by that order is a burlesque upon the elective franchise," and would prohibit Lincoln's opponents from voting.[1] Even the reports of Union victories could only be accepted as manifestations of the desire for re-election—as attempts to delude the people into believing that Lincoln, if returned, would bring the war to a speedy conclusion.[2]

When these very Union victories brought Lincoln's re-election in November, Storey's faith in the people and the American scheme of government was shaken. Shortly after the election an editorial questioned the worth of the Republican system:[3]

> We doubt not that the result of the election will lead very many of the most impartial and intelligent of observers in our country to a conviction that our republican system is a failure. Certainly it would seem as if the history of Mr. Lincoln's administration should have convinced the people that its longer continuance could be productive only of disaster. Its failures were so patent and reached so directly to each individual, pressing themselves upon his attention by connections affecting his business, his family, and placing his life, subject, in many instances, to chances where the probabilities were two against one for him, and menacing him with near and frequent repetitions of the lottery, that the recent popular decision must ever be a subject of surprise and speculation.

From the day of the election until the end of the war there was little new in the editorials of the *Times.* Storey redoubled his demands for peace and regarded every Union victory as the opportunity for offering generous terms of peace. When at the Peace Conference in February, 1865, the acceptance of the laws regarding slavery was demanded, he declared that "Jefferson Davis has not today an ally as efficient in assisting the progress of his schemes as Abraham

[1] *Ibid.,* Oct. 20, 21, 1864.
[2] *Ibid.,* Oct. 22, 25, 1864.
[3] *Ibid.,* Nov. 11, 1864.

Lincoln."[1] As days passed and peace was not declared, Storey decided that Lincoln was hesitating until he had determined how best to perpetuate his party in power. Inauguration day, set aside by Lincoln for the celebration of Union victories, brought one of the most scathing arraignments of the President ever published in the *Times*:[2]

If he was respectable, either as man or magistrate, the people would so far respect him and his office, that they would unite in celebrating his installation for a second term with festivities. It is the consciousness that his character as a man will not redeem his weak and wicked administration from public contempt and disgust, that leads him and his partisans to attempt to cheat the people into a celebration which but a small portion of them would observe were the true reason assigned. . . .

Whatsoever in human nature is false, treacherous, weak and cowardly, of that he is accused by the more eminent members of his party, and the united voice of the press of his party. . . .

His honesty had been able to withstand the temptations which had beset him as a country lawyer in a small inland town. It was as flax before fire in the wild whirl of excitement and corruption into which he was thrown upon assuming the duties of the presidency. Before his inauguration, he sought relief from embarrassing demands by lying—the invariable refuge of weak and vacillating natures.

The partially honest coward . . . . has been transformed into the unblushingly corrupt bully, who did browbeat the delegation from the state which raised him from the hovel to offices of trust and honor, and asked from him the protection of law against villainous trickery with which abject partisanship has invested him.

The honor of the state, and liberties of its people, are in the dust before him. . . .

Storey viewed the inauguration ceremony, especially the drunkenness of Vice-President Johnson, with disgust and shame.[3] He added that he had thought it impossible "that even Mr. Lincoln could produce a paper so slipshod, so loose-jointed, so puerile, not alone in literary construction, but in its ideas, its sentiments, its grasp,"[4] as the inaugural address.

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[1] *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1865.
[2] *Ibid.*, Mar. 4, 1865.
[3] *Ibid.*, Mar. 6, 1865.
[4] *Ibid.*, Mar. 10, 1865.

Not until April 15 did the *Times* relax in its criticism of Lincoln. On that day it applauded the President's action in aiding the meeting of the Virginia legislature as

> a recognition . . . . of the validity of the legislature and of the fact that the state has never in point of law ceased to be a member of the union. . . . There really was much of unionism and common sense in that movement, and it indicated that he [Lincoln] is getting out from under the 'pressure' which, since September 22, 1862, has threatened to 'squelch' those qualities in him. . . .

With this statement to his credit, Storey joined the rest of the nation two days later in mourning Lincoln's death. Having been so encouraged by the President's activities in Virginia, he could write:[1]

> There are not on this day mourners more sincere than the democracy of these northern states. Widely as they have differed with Mr. Lincoln,—greatly as their confidence in him has been shaken,—they yet saw in the indications of the last few days of his life that he might command their support in the close of the war, as he did in the beginning. These indications inspired them with hope, and confidence, and joy, which are now dashed to the ground. The democracy may well mourn the death of Abraham Lincoln.

With the war over and Johnson elevated to the Presidency, the *Times* turned to a consideration of the problems facing the nation. Their enormity was realized. Johnson's task was even greater than the one which had faced Lincoln in 1861; Johnson must preserve the peace which had been gained by four years of expensive warfare, he must reconstruct the Union and wipe out the bitterness which prevailed. Confidence in Johnson's ability was not great.[2] Storey was fearful for the future.

CONCLUSION

From the outbreak of the struggle between the States in 1861 the Chicago *Times* advocated a vigorous prosecution of the war. It supported the war as long as Storey believed it was being fought for the preservation of the Union and the

[1] *Ibid.*, April 17, 1865.
[2] *Ibid.*, April 21, 1865.

maintenance of the Constitution. When in late 1862 and early 1863 certain of Lincoln's policies, especially the dismissal of McClellan and the issuance of the emancipation proclamation, convinced Storey that these ends were no longer being sought, he withdrew his support and began a campaign for peace. Although this campaign continued until the close of the war, a change in attitude was apparent after Grant was made Lieutenant-General of the Union forces. From that date the *Times* favored the continued prosecution of the war as the best means to an immediate conclusion of hostilities and viewed every Union victory as an opportunity for offering magnanimous peace terms to the South.

Storey was extremely hostile toward almost every policy and measure either proposed or adopted by the administration, especially after 1862. Only rarely did Lincoln receive a word of praise; he was considered weak and vacillating, and peculiarly susceptible to the influence of the radical element of his party. No member of the Cabinet remained long in favor with the *Times* and Stanton, Welles and Chase received almost constant criticism. Lincoln's attempt to solve the negro problem by emancipation alienated Storey; Chase's attempt at solving the financial problems of the war met with determined opposition. While believing that the major share of the expenses of the struggle should be met by taxation, Storey would not accept the tax measures passed by Congress, declaring that they discriminated in favor of the eastern manufacturers to the detriment of farmers and laborers. The tariff laws were opposed on the same ground. The editor deprecated the issue of greenbacks because of the serious consequences which had inevitably followed the issue of paper money, and criticized the national banking system because it was monopolistic and interfered with state rights and interests.

The actual conduct of hostilities was characterized by inefficiency and corruption, the *Times* declared, and by the desire of the administration party to maintain itself in power, whatever the cost. This desire often led to a subordination of the military interests of the country to the political needs of the party, according to Storey. He was extremely jealous of the personal liberties of the people as guaranteed by the

Constitution and looked with bitterness upon any encroachments against those liberties. Thus he criticized the adoption of martial law, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and the restrictions placed upon the freedom of speech and of the press. Only increased opposition and denunciation of Lincoln and his administration resulted from General Burnside's suppression of the *Times* in June, 1863.

The campaign for the election of 1864 increased Storey's demands for peace and led to an expression of his ideas on reconstruction. He maintained that the Southern States had never actually been out of the Union and that they should be allowed to resume their former relationships therein without being either forced to accept the administration's laws concerning slavery or penalized in any way. Lincoln's reelection was a sore disappointment to Storey, and weakened his faith in the republican system of government. It was not until two days before Lincoln's assassination that a change in the *Times*' attitude toward him was apparent; that was due to Lincoln's announcement of his reconstruction plan in Virginia with which the Democratic editor sympathized. This alone made it possible for the *Times* to join the rest of the nation in mourning Lincoln's death.

This study of the *Times* displays an editor of unusual ability and rare personality. His reactions to the events of 1861-1865 seem only logical when considered in relation to his dominant traits of character. Above all Storey was extremely consistent during this period; in fact the position he took was inevitable to one of his personality. His consistency and hatred of anything resembling equivocation made him intolerant of the temporizing tactics which the exigencies of administration forced Lincoln to adopt. Storey nevertheless tried to be fair. He gave Lincoln the benefit of the doubt and did not condemn him utterly until he became convinced that his confidence was no longer deserved. Then the full force of a vindictiveness for which the editor was noted fell on Lincoln through a series of bitterly abusive editorials. At the end, however, when the executive efforts at reconstruction coincided with Storey's theories, he moderated his criticism. He was sincere in mourning the death of the President.

Another of Storey's dominant characteristics was an intense loyalty. It was this quality which made him stand by his friends through every crisis even when they were in the wrong. Our most notable example of this loyalty was General McClellan. From the outset of the war Storey put his faith in McClellan and never did he withdraw it. Long after more far-seeing critics were praising Lincoln for the removal of the general, Storey was defending him and excoriating the President. A definite striving toward fairness, usually successful, and an equally definite tendency toward vindictiveness; consistency and extreme loyalty—these were Storey's outstanding characteristics. Given these, is the career of the *Times* under his leadership surprising?

JOHN KINZIE'S PLACE IN HISTORY

By James Ryan Haydon

Jouett's Letter

"Chicago, April 3, 1817.

"Sir: When I think of the great number of persons attached to you from the qualities of your heart independent of your claim on the gratitude of your country, I feel assured that should my friendship for [an] individual force me beyond the bounds of decorum, I shall by you [be] forgiven.

"My regard for the person who now addresses you, induces me to request, you will take the trouble of reading his narrative, as I have not a doubt but that it is the truth.

"It is extremely distressing to see a worthy man laboring under the 'inconvenience' of poverty, especially when it has been measurably caused by his inflexible attachment to his country. That Mr. Kinzie is a man of strong mind, firm integrity, and invincible courage, none can doubt; that he was in easy circumstances before the war and reduced to poverty is known to thousands of this country; and that he rendered very important services to our government is equally notorious.

"I pray you to do me the honor to believe sincere what I say, that no man earthly has a stronger claim on the favour of his country than Mr. Kinzie, and few could fill certain subordinate situations better. He would make an excellent sub-agent, but if no situation of that kind can be procured, permit me to give him, as an interpreter two dollars per diem, and two rations; this would support himself, Mrs. Kinzie and four fine children.

"Suffer me to hope from your knowledge of my candor, that something may be done for this worthy, unfortunate man."

These words, which have just been quoted, are taken from a letter written to James Monroe, President of the United States, on April 3, 1817. They were written by Charles Jouett, Indian agent at Chicago. The "worthy, unfortunate man" of whom he speaks at the conclusion of his letter, is John Kinzie, famous Indian trader, to whose name some historians have persistently attached the erroneous title of "Father of Chicago."

From the fervent expressions of friendship and admiration used by Indian Agent Jouett in his letter just quoted in full, the conclusion may justly be drawn that he was the best friend John Kinzie had among the white men of the northwest country. It is, therefore, the official testimony of his best friend, that John Kinzie was a man of mediocre administrative ability. The highest tribute to his talents was this remarkable statement: "few could fill certain subordinate situations better." In confirmation of this appraisal of the celebrated Indian trader's ability, it must be added that Charles Jouett was about to resign his post when he wrote that letter, and did resign it about that time. Yet he does not recommend the appointment of John Kinzie to succeed him. Neither does any one else, apparently; although Kinzie had many influential friends and admirers whose sponsorship might well have gained him the appointment of Indian agent at Chicago. In 1818 a successor to Charles Jouett was named in the person of Alexander Wolcott, Jr., of Middletown, Connecticut.

John Kinzie was intimately known, loved, and respected by every Indian chieftain within the northwest country. Although he had performed numerous important and valuable services for the United States, as will be shown presently, he never held a higher position under the government than sub-Indian agent and interpreter.

Perhaps no one man has had more space devoted to him by Chicago historians than John Kinzie. It is amazing, therefore, that no writer has conveyed to the reading public what John Kinzie thought of himself and of his deeds. He has written a partial autobiography, still preserved. It is this personal history that Charles Jouett requested President

James Monroe to read, and it is herewith presented to the public, perhaps for the first time since it was penned by John Kinzie himself in Chicago, one hundred and fifteen years ago. The document is addressed to the President and it reads in full:

Chicago, April 4, 1817.

Sir: Sometime previous to the declaration of war between Great Britain and the United States, Capt. Heald, then commanding this post, informed me that the Indians were called to attend the Commissioners to attend a Treaty to be held at Piqua, State of Ohio, that he was informed they would not attend fearful of some design on the part of our Government; he requested me to use my influence. I did, and some chiefs went; but I had to pledge not only my word of honor to them, but offered my family as a pledge that no treachery would be made use of by our Government.

British agents residing among them had struck this impression on their minds, however, they had not got far on their way before they met with General Hull's express, an Indian, who informed them that Mackinac was taken, and that the orders in his possession was to evacuate Chicago.

The chiefs then returned home, and sent word to Capt. Heald not to evacuate until they arrived, altho the bearer of the dispatches requested him to leave the garrison immediately; but Heald waited Capt. Well's arrival with an escort of Miamis.

Some time previous to this I went in company with a Canadian through several villages on the west side of Lake Michigan. I found the Indians all hostile, and waiting the declaration of war to commence hostilities; this information I gave immediately to Thomas Forsyth, a sub-agent, and also to Capt. Heald on my return to the post. Capt. Heald requested me to act as agent to the Indians, he having too much business on hand to attend to it, and particularly as there was some considerable difficulty to control so great body as was collecting at this post.

At the evacuation I volunteered my services to take Capt. Heald to Fort Wayne, he being determined to evacuate. I marched out of Fort Dearborn at the head of the troops with a musket on my shoulder and was taken prisoner with the remaining few that escaped the Tomahawk.

I left my wife and four children and a very large amount of goods to the mercy of the Indians; the former they did not injure but the latter suffered greatly. The next day I gave $500 in goods to the Indians that held Heald and Lieut Helm

in captivity* to treat them kindly, and it had the desired effect; by it they both got off from the Indians.

I was permitted to go to Detroit with my family. When I arrived at Detroit, Gen'l. Proctor sent for me; offered me a Captaincy in the Indian Department to join the British standard; he said he was well informed of my influence with the Potawatimies, and that I could bring 500 in the field. I would not accept it; this was January, 1813.

In March I was again sent for. Proctor told me Col. Dixon informed him that my influence was such to obtain my services. I again refused, and observed I would sooner be a private in the U. S. Service than a Captain in the Indian Department; he scornfully ordered me away.

At this time I was continually employed by intrigues with the Indians to draw them off their intentions from the British Government. I held at my expense two men for this purpose, and did prevent the Indians of St. Joseph's to come into Detroit as also gave a relax to their co-operation with the British views in going to the settlements of Ohio. I gained the approbation of the chiefs to send deputies to Gen'l. Harrison, some time in May, 1813.

I was informed by a Captain of the Indian Department that General Proctor had given orders to the chiefs to fire Detroit and the settlements on the appearance of General Harrisons' army. I called the chiefs together, made them promise they would not burn nor destroy private property, and this act, with the others, getting to Proctor, he artfully sent for me by an officer to wait for him at Sandwich. When I got across the Detroit river, a party of light horse took charge of me. The Indians acquainted with this, crossed the river, followed and retook me from the Party; next day Maj. Muir came with a message from Proctor, if I would remain silent, I might remain at Sandwich; but when I went to Sandwich I was confined in house. The Indians again crossed over to me to the General, and told him, I was their friend and prisoner, and that they found me a useful man, and took me across the river to my family; but the arrival of Col. Dixon with a large party of Indians and Canadians he took me prisoner under a charge of high treason,—corresponding with General Harrison, advising the Indians, and giving them information what was detrimental to the views of the Government.

I was put in close confinement 7 weeks. The Chiefs assembled called on Proctor to give me to them, and in the night I was sent by a party of light horse to Burlington. I

* Helm was Mrs. John Kinzie's son-in-law.—Ed.

was kept in irons and kept in dungeons until I got on board prison ship at Quebec, under the inspection of an Indian chief. I was to be sent to England but the ship by adverse winds and running on a reef of rocks injured and ordered into Halifax. Through the interference of our Agent, Mr. Mitchell, I got liberated and arrived in January, 1814, at Martha's Vinyard.

In May I was sent to command a party of men to Lake Huron, while they were erecting Fort Gratiot to prevent the enemy to come by surprise. On my return to St. Joseph, I volunteered under Col. Croughan on the expedition to Mackinac, by Gen'l. Cass to obtain the views and dispositions of the Potawatomies, to prepare the way for Gen'l. McArthur's expedition. I had a great deal of difficulty to get out of the country. Nothing but the influence I had with the principal chiefs gave me safe return. $500 was offered by Col. McDowell for my scalp, and while at their village a guard of Indians was put over me and my associate for our safety. I returned to Fort Wayne, informed Gen'l. McArthur that 1,500 warriors were collected at St. Joseph waiting him, although they professed friendship at Fort Wayne every day to deceive.

On my return to Detroit I was taken into the Indian Department as Interpreter by Gov. Cass, and remained as such until April, 1816. On the arrival of Charles Jouett, Esq., Indian Agent, from an acquaintance of 15 years, he employed me in the same capacity.

I have a family and have been impoverished by my taking an active part in the late contest. I have suffered much in the loss of property, and pray that something might be done for me to enable me to make a comfortable living.

Governor Cass recommended me for an agency at Chicago but it was given prior to his application.

With respect, I am, Sir,
Yr. Devoted Servt.
John Kinzie.

James Monroe,
President of the
United States.

The concluding paragraph of the letter just quoted: "I have suffered much in the loss of property, and pray that something be done to enable me to make a comfortable living," is very much like the concluding paragraph of Mr. Jouett's letter: "Suffer me to hope from a knowledge of my candor, that something be done for this worthy, unfortunate man."

In response to this dual pleading, and, very likely at the suggestion of President Monroe, John Kinzie was appointed sub-agent at Chicago with a salary of $750 per year and "two rations" per day, "until better provisions can be made for him," the Secretary of War told Governor Cass. This appointment was made July 21, 1817.

John Kinzie's dire poverty, however, like his title, "Father of Chicago," seems to have been a pure fiction. His penury was wholly mythical and without any foundation in fact. In proof of this statement there is a letter published in Andreas' *History of Chicago.* It was written by Ramsey Crooks, general agent of the American Fur Company at Mackinac, under date of July 31, 1817, in answer to a letter from John Kinzie of July 4, of the same year. This letter must be considered in any attempt to give John Kinzie his proper place in history. It shows that at the time President Monroe was mercifully giving this alleged mendicant two dollars per day and two rations per diem, Indian Trader Kinzie was enjoying a flourishing business.

Here is the testimony of Ramsey Crooks on the subject:

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 4th instant came duly to hand, as also the seventy-three packs by Captain Barney, the freight of which I paid and had them safely stored where they still remain in the shape you sent them, as Mr. Beaubien could not possibly get a press, so busy have we been since his arrival here.

However, I shall do what you wished him to execute, though from the unheard of desertion of our men on their way from Montreal, we are left almost helpless, and men cannot be got here for anything like reasonable terms. Would you believe that ordinary boatmen ask a thousand livres, many get eight or nine hundred, and those who can talk just enough Indian to tell their masters private business to the savages, will not listen to anything short of eleven or twelve hundred livres, with an equipment which could not be purchased here for less than fifty dollars. If therefore you have any idea of depending on this post for men, my advice would be to abandon every thought of the kind, and secure those you have about you.

Mr. Beaubien sold me his skins after a residence of several days had given him an opportunity of becoming inti-

mately acquainted with the highest value set on them by contending parties, and I am very sure they were well sold.

He has directed me to credit you with $1,087-5 on his account, which has been done.

Your account against Pensonneau has been acknowledged and placed to your credit.

The best Indian corn will not command above two dollars per bushel, at this time, and indeed an immediate sale at that price could not be effected, for cash. I cannot therefore, take upon myself to sacrifice your property, and prefer keeping it till better times.

This letter of Ramsey Crooks bears evidence that during the three months in which efforts were being made at Washington to make a place for John Kinzie in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, this indefatigable trader had purchased seventy-three packs of furs from the redmen, in addition to $1,087 worth of peltries which he had sold to Mr. Beaubien. Besides this he had become creditor to Pensonneau for an unnamed amount of money. He had also become possessed of a considerable quantity of Indian corn valued at $2.00 a bushel, which he could afford to hold in storage at Mackinac until "better times." Over and above all this John Kinzie was contemplating the employment of men whose annual wage varied between $156 and $195 per year in addition to equipment for each costing $50 at Mackinac. His command of cash or credit, therefore, to carry on such business makes it impossible that he could have been suffering from the "inconveniences of poverty," as his friend Charles Jouett expressed it to President Monroe.

Further confirmation of the extensive credit enjoyed by this celebrated Indian trader may be obtained from the testimony of Robert Stuart, general agent for the American Fur company at Mackinaw, who stated that John Kinzie had purchased goods to the value of $16,000 for the 1816 season from his firm and had received them on credit. In addition to this purchase from the Mackinaw branch, Mr. Kinzie also bought from the same firm at Detroit in 1816 goods valued and charged to him for about $4,000. This means that he had $20,000 working capital in goods at the time he was asking President Monroe for help to support his family. If he could not sup-

port his family with such a splendid set-up in the Indian trade, it must be concluded that John Kinzie was an utter failure as a business man.

No just criticism could be made of Mr. Kinzie's efforts to obtain some form of remuneration from the government he had served so well. There is an established principle of law and morality that any man who performs valuable services for an employer has a right to adequate recompense for his labors. And John Kinzie did perform numerous and sometimes heroic services for the United States among the Indian tribes of the northwestern country. For these important services the Indian trader never received a proper reward during his lifetime. However, the members of his family later on became wealthy largely through the Chicago Indian Treaty of 1833, when they drew a total sum of $25,000 indemnity from the government because John Kinzie had lost his property during the War of 1812.

This loss of property by the firm of John Kinzie & Co., however, did not represent a personal loss of Mr. Kinzie, because he owed his partners some $30,000 at the time. Testimony on this point comes from William Smith, one of the three members of the firm. Under date of September 26, 1834, when the Kinzie heirs were urging their aggregate claim of $25,000 against the United Tribes, Mr. Smith wrote to Secretary of War Lewis Cass. This letter, dated at Fort Erie, U. C., stated that Mr. Smith would interpose no obstacles in the path of the Kinzie heirs provided they made him a satisfactory proposal to cover his loss sustained by the defaulted debts of their distinguished ancestor. The letter reads in full:

Sir: Having had the honor of a temporary acquaintance with you in Detroit, especially on the awful day of the conflagration of that ancient City; when myself and the late Robert A. Forsyth, (then partners in the Indian trade at Chicago) received favours at your hands which I shall always be grateful for.

I have now to beg leave, to state to your Excellency, that by the Chicago Treaty the Indian Tribes were bound to make compensation to those Traders who had suffered by their depredations, or loss, the Debts, contracted by them.

The late John Kinzie being then trading at Chicago under the firm name of John Kinzie & Co., which Firm consisted of J. Kinzie, Robert Forsyth and myself, and was largely indebted to Forsyth and Smith, say $30,000 or thereabouts—considering myself justly entitled to a portion of the aforesaid compensation.

I beg leave to lay the subject before your Excellency, for your consideration. It may perhaps be advisable to address the Commissioners, but I do not wish to place any impediment in the way of the heirs; on their making me a reasonable overture.

I trust your liberal sentiments will pardon my intruding myself upon your notice.

I am with great respect,

Your Excellency's obliged humble Servant,

William Smith.

John Kinzie's transparent and amiable fraud on President Monroe, in collaboration with Indian Agent Jouett, in 1817, may be passed off as a forgivable human frailty, for although he was not an impoverished person, he was a most worthy and valuable servant of the United States government. There was, however, a grave aspect of this situation which stamped John Kinzie as a man of inferior mental attainments. His candid mendacity was as artless as an Indian's. Certainly Governor Cass knew, and Washington officials, doubtless, became informed in time, that the Indian trader's official report of his own financial insolvency was inaccurate. His report could not stand the test of investigation. He was not a responsible administrative agent. He needed supervision. It is not surprising, then, that this famous Indian trader should never occupy a higher post in the government service among white men than sub-agent.

As a matter of fact, it would seem that John Kinzie was a white man gone Indian. He had more of the redman's psychology than of the white man's. He had associated with savages during the major part of his life. The redmen were his friends, associates, and his customers. He had lived with them, eaten with them, slept with them, and protected them with an intense devotion not surpassed by any traditional loyalty of Indian friendship. John Kinzie did little to advance the cause of white man's civilization in the North-

west; but he did perform extraordinary services on behalf of his Indian friends and lifelong associates.

His most important achievement in this respect was the formulation of a plan of peace after the War of 1812. This was presented to the government after he had returned from that dangerous mission among the Indians in the vicinity of St. Joseph and Chicago under orders from the newly appointed governor of Michigan, Lewis Cass.

The commission given by the Michigan executive to Mr. Kinzie at that time is preserved at Washington, and it reads:

Detroit, Sept. 2, 1814.

Sir: You will with the interpreters, who accompany you, repair to the country in the vicinity of St. Joseph's and Chicago; you will procure all the information in your power respecting the views, objects and feelings of the Indians in that quarter. You will endeavor to ascertain whether there are any British emissaries or speeches among them. Should you find any of the former you will endeavor to apprehend them, and stop the latter.

You will impress upon the Indians the necessity of adhering to the United States. You will invite them to come to this place, promising them good treatment, provisions and presents. You will generally exercise your judgment in adopting such measures as you judge will best promote the public interest.

After accomplishing these objects, you will take the route to Fort Wayne where you will continue until the arrival of the expedition ordered into the Indian country, when you will report yourself to the Commanding officer of it, and receive his instructions.

The direction of the party with you is entrusted to yourself.

I am, Sir,
Your Obt. Servt.

Mr. John Kinzie.

(The letter above was transcribed in "Letter Book, No. 1. Letters Sent." of the Indian Bureau, and very evidently was made from a copy of the letter sent by Gov. Cass to Mr. Kinzie. Cass generally did not sign the copies of his official letters.)

This official mission of John Kinzie into the Indian country delegated to him on behalf of the United States gov-

ernment was the turning point in the Indian trader's career. It enabled him to perform a heroic service to his country. His scouting expedition revealed to him a general condition of hostility among the Indians so adverse to the United States and the American traders, that the task of pacification became a problem of the first magnitude.

He learned that nine-tenths of the Indian trade of this region was in the hands of the British, operating through the South West Company. He discovered that emissaries of this company mingled among the redmen constantly "making speeches" to them with the purpose of generating and magnifying hatred for the United States and American traders. He observed that the British traders added to the excellence of their goods an abundance of whiskey which gave them a trading advantage with the savages difficult to overcome. He discerned the shrewdness of the South West Company in giving presents annually at Malden; because it brought the chiefs and head men into English territory where opportunities to inflame them against American traders and the American government were made the most of.

Mr. Kinzie realized the necessity of a comprehensive scheme of operations, launched and protected by the United States, that must be formulated and executed uniformly throughout the entire Indian country, in order to control the commerce of peltries and merchandise. Many months after his return from this dangerous mission, Mr. Kinzie pondered the big problem before him as an individual trader; and also before the American government upon whose soil this extensive trade and commerce was carried on. In the following spring he presented his solution of the problem in a plan of peace, dated at Detroit, April, 1815. The text of this remarkable document is given herewith in full; and, as far as I know, it has never appeared in any printed publication.*

Sir: With your permission I lay before you a plan that may be the means to continue peace and friendship between the United States and the Indian tribes that inhabit the jurisdiction of the United States Government: Viz:

*My paragraphing. J. R. H.

(1) To give notice to all the tribes of Indians as early as possible that peace is established, between the Government of Great Britain and the United states, and

(2) To call the different tribes to a general council to settle a peace between the hostile tribes residing on the American boundary and the United States as soon as possible, and

(3) At the different posts that may be established (appoint) agents who are acquainted with the disposition and the language of the Nations,

(4) To establish factors at each post,

(5) To admit the natives to give in the memorandums for such articles as may best suit the climate, (and) of the annuities that are allowed each nation,

(6) To adopt the system of having the villages of each nation as few as possible and

(7) To allow the traders to reside only in the villages, not to carry goods into the hunting camps.

(8) And also to prevent spirituous liquors entering into the boundaries,

(9) Agents not to receive from the natives any present but what may be considered to be deposited in some place appointed by the Superintendent for the use of the Government, and the Indians to receive for the same payments only out of such goods as are appointed here as presents, or sent to the factory and paid there the value,

(10) The annuities to be delivered to the nation in the presence of the factors, or Commandant of the Garrison where the agent resides, and their certificate to accompany the Indian receipts.

(11) Agents to visit their district twice a year,

(12) To consider the chiefs as their associates and at times to invite (them) to his table so as to inspire the Young men of their village that respect is shown to their leaders,

(13) Agents not to carry on any mercantile transaction with Indians or others.

(14) Agents to be empowered to give medals to such Indians as they may conceive are worthy to be made chiefs.

(15) To grant licenses to such traders as are of good character only and that the trader give good security according to law.

(16) Government to lay out roads through the Indian territory from Post to Post, particularly from Detroit to St. Joseph due west, there being but sixty miles of land carriage between the waters of Lake Erie and Michigan,

(17) To settle friendly Indians, Shawneese and Delewares, in the lands occupied by the Kickapoos lying between the Illinois river and the Wabash.

(18) To occupy Chicago, Green Bay, & the prairie du Chien as Military posts.

(19) To hold all councils by giving wampum in lieu of writing instruments,

(20) To prevent citizens to settle in the Indian boundary, also to prevent citizens to destroy their game.

(21) The Government to be as liberal as possible in allowing them provisions. Gunsmiths would be useful, one to each garrison.

John Kinzie's authorship of the document just quoted is attested by William Woodbridge, Secretary of the Michigan Territory, whose note on this subject is appended at the end of the letter and reads:

"The above communication was made in consequence of the expression to Capt. Kinzie of my wish to see in writing his notions concerning Indian intercourse."

This plan of peace was a comprehensive scheme of Indian pacification based on twenty years of personal observation and practical experience by the celebrated Indian trader. It was his complete philosophy of Indian government. Four months after presenting these proposals to the government, John Kinzie became aware that the War Department did not intend to establish a military post at Chicago. In view of this decision he wrote a strong letter to Governor Cass urging the necessity of locating a garrison at the country of the Portage for the purpose of securing to himself and other American traders the extensive Indian commerce and to win more completely the friendship of the Indians to the American cause. While there was no longer any danger of the Portage falling into the hands of the British since the conclusion of the War of 1812, yet there was much danger of the Indian trade becoming monopolized by English merchants.

Mr. Kinzie's second letter on the subject of Indian intercourse is addressed to Governor Cass under date of July 15, 1815, and was written at Detroit. It reads in full:

Sir: Taking into consideration the importance of that section of Country, lying in the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to our Governmnet, and having been upwards of

twenty years residence in that portion of the United States acquired knowledge of its importance, I thus take the liberty of laying my observations before you.

The executive of the United States appears anxious to establish a peaceable and friendly intercourse with the Indian tribes the most determinedly hostile are the Chippeway, Potwatomies, Ottowas of Labre Croche, and the Winnebago Tribes, who inhabit the country between the Southern extremity of Lake Michigan and Michillimackinac, and whose chief residence is upon the Grand and Muskegon rivers, but, who from want of a proper supply of game, are compelled to emigrate at seasons to the waters of Chicago, Illinois and Fox rivers.

The hostility of those tribes is owing to their intercourse with the traders of the S. W. Company, whose intercourse and of course whose policy is to render them inimical to all American traders. From what I have already said the importance of establishing a Military post at or near the place of their general rendezvous will at once present itself. The spot which is most important and which will possess the greatest advantage is that on which Fort Dearborn formerly stood as those tribes generally rendezvous in the spring. Consequently a garrison would be necessary to reduce trade and intercourse with them to a system and to prevent misrepresentations from the agents of another government whose influence will ever keep them hostile to the United States.

As the navigation of these waters will in a few years become an object of great importance to the United States as at present boats of several tons burthen can pass from Lake Michigan into the Mississippi River there being only four feet and a half difference in the elevations of the two waters. Therefore it would be politick to adopt measures in due time that will secure the friendship of the hostile and fix that of the wavering.

A judicious system of policy will in a few years effect more in conciliating the tribes that are hostile than a long and expensive exterminating war. An intercourse with the savages is absolutely necessary. Garrisons to protect trade and create respect for agents are equally so. Agents should act with most impartial justice and should administer to their little wants the supplies they have long been in the habit of receiving from the British Government.

While the citizens of the United States are kept at such a distance from those tribes, and their trade so confined from the want of the arm of protection being extended over it and the intercourse of the foreign merchants (who bear away

nine-tenths of that important trade) allowed the American can do no other than submit in silence or coincide with the consumate and intriguing British trader, or perhaps his scalp may be paid for and he fall a victim of the hatchet if he has the temerity to support his country.

The only way to do away with the mistaken animosity of the tribes is by the proper application of small presents to the chiefs, a mild and conciliatory conduct of the nation at large, and by keeping such an armed force in the neighborhood as will awe meddling intruders into silence.

Chicago is all important to the Illinois country as it is the key of communication and has command of the trade a vast territory and whose navigation serves to forward the returns of the merchants to Michillimackinac at a much lower rate than they can at present be forwarded by the Mississippi owing to the difficulty of procuring boats.

The coal and lead mines will when protected by the arm of authority become very important to the frontier as all transportation from them may be made by water.

The calling the above named tribes to Green Bay to receive annuities or other gratuities that may be granted them by the Government, or to trade at the Factory, will be attended with very little benefit unto the tribes mentioned, as the distance is great, the face of the country one continued morass and in the winter season impassible by the traveler owing to the depth of the snow. Therefore, those tribes will suffer if they have to depend on the agency or Factory at Green Bay.

The above statement you may rely is correct. Having resided many years in the country as an individual, I have combatted in trade against the whole Michillimackinac or S. W. Company, and have many years employed a vessel for my return furs to Detroit.

I mention this to show you the importance of the trade of the Chicago country if correctly managed.

I am your Excellency's
Most Obt. Servt.
John Kinzie.

John Kinzie's place in history is established by the documents presented in this paper. No longer is the historian obliged to accept the propaganda of his family as the basis of an accurate historical judgment. He now has a full statement of facts related by Mr. Kinzie himself and attested by government officials. A digest of the historical data now accessible through these documents reveals the full program

intended by John Kinzie as the scheme of operations within the country occupied by the Indian tribes. This territory swept from Mackinac to Green Bay, down to Peoria, across Illinois to Indiana and upward to St. Joseph and the Grand River in northern Michigan.

A full picture of the Kinzie plan of Indian intercourse is revealed in the following tabulation of its essential features:

(1) This Indian territory was to be dedicated forever as an Indian hunting ground and devoted to commerce with the redmen who owned and occupied it.

(2) All white men were to be excluded from this country except those directly authorized to enter it by the United States government.

(3) Whiskey was to be totally excluded from the Indian country.

(4) The Chicago Portage was to be used, just as it existed, for the transportation of Indian commerce between the Mississippi River and Mackinac.

(5) Indian agents of the government were to be only such men as understood the Indian languages and knew the Indian disposition; and they must consider the Indian chiefs as their associates.

(6) American Indian traders were to be protected against British competition by the armed forces of the United States, located at strategic points, where they would have and exert a dominating control and influence over whites and Indians.

That was the Kinzie plan of Indian development in Chicagoland. Upon this monument, builded by himself, John Kinzie must forever stand in history's hall of fame. His solitary and pathetic figure represents the one white man in the Northwest whose soul and mind and body were wholly dedicated to the material welfare of the savages. "Shaw-nee-aw-kee," the Indians' friend, never betrayed their confidence. These hostile savages of 1815 became within the succeeding ten years the faithful allies of the United States Government. John Kinzie, "the Silver Man," was perhaps more influential in gaining this friendship than any other American citizen of

the northwest country. Upon this service rests his claim to glory. And although John Kinzie's dream of an Indian empire within our commonwealth was never to be completely realized because of the land-hunger of the white settlers in the Northwest, yet the conception and formulation of his plan of peace and intercourse with the redmen became an Indian "Magna Charta" the influence of which is evident in the benevolent policies of the United States toward the savages for succeeding years.

Gratitude and justice to the memory of this distinguished pioneer, as well as loyalty to historic truth, require that we remove John Kinzie from the pedestal upon which he has rested so long, as the "Father of Chicago," the mythical parent of a mythical town. He belongs upon that noble monument he himself erected by his deeds, and where he will always stand as the Great Indian Pacificator of the Northwest.

No white man of those early days was so greatly beloved by the Indians as Shaw-nee-aw-kee, the Silver Man; and no emissary of the United States was perhaps more successful in winning the loyalty of these savages of Chicagoland to the cause of the American Government.

That is John Kinzie's true place in history.

PART III

Contributions to State History

1932

CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUE IN ILLINOIS—1860

"It was altogether the most exciting scene I ever witnessed," wrote Thurlow Weed in his *Autobiography,* describing a central mass meeting at Syracuse, New York, in the campaign of 1840. When one remembers the quiet presidential campaigns of the twentieth century, it seems incredible that politics once furnished for everyone excitement and sport which they never forgot. But presidential campaigns from 1796 to a hundred years after, with their glamour and jubilee, bitterness and violence, were ingrained in the life of the people, as I have tried to show in these pages by recounting the campaign of 1860 as it ran its vigorous course in Illinois.

CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUE IN ILLINOIS—1860*

By
WILLIAM ELDON BARINGER

CHAPTER I

NURSING A BOOM

"The year 1859 was comparatively a quiet one," wrote Gustave Koerner.[1] Politics were quietly moving, politicians quietly working. For the political situation offered tempting glimpses of offices which might be secured in next year's "quadrennial choosing."

Douglas's victory over Lincoln in 1858 profoundly depressed the spirits of Illinois Republicans. Lincoln wrote letters of encouragement to his associates: "You are feeling badly,—'And this too shall pass away,' never fear."[2] "You are 'feeling like hell yet.' Quit that—you will soon feel better. Another 'blow up' is coming, and we shall have fun again. Douglas managed to be supported both as the best instrument to *put down* and to *uphold* the slave power; but no ingenuity can long keep the antagonism in harmony."[3] They did not know it, but Illinois Republicans had won a great strategic victory, one that was to bring about events of utmost importance. Lincoln, by his race against Douglas, had kept the Republican party from being absorbed by Douglas. That would certainly have happened had the party followed the notions of certain Republican "wise men of the East," notably Horace Greeley, who advised the nation's free-soil forces to unite behind the Little Giant as the best means of opposing the pro-slavery administration.[4] With Douglas

* A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Illinois.

[1] *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, II, 71.

[2] To Norman B. Judd, Nov. 16, 1858, A. B. Lapsley (ed.), *The Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, V, 18.

[3] To Charles H. Ray, editor, Chicago *Press and Tribune*, Nov. 20, 1858, *Ibid.*, V, 19.

[4] J. Macy, *Political Parties in the United States*, 1846-1861, 247-275.

remaining in power, the Democracy would inevitably be a split party in the approaching presidential contest, for so long as he and Jefferson Davis faced each other in the Senate there could be no unity between the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic party.[5]

Emotions of defeat presently faded, and Illinois Republican leaders, facing the political facts which became apparent as months passed, went into action with vigor. The Republican State Central Committee, under the chairmanship of Norman Buell Judd, was a strong and active political war department. Judd, "a sly, crafty, shrewd politician,"[6] in fact, "one of the shrewdest and most effective of politicians,"[7] is an excellent example of a peculiarly American class—the lawyer-politician. These men who made their living (in the main) by practising law, but whose real profession was politics, formed a type of towering importance in nineteenth century American life. Judd made things move, and did not wait for the arrival of 1860 to begin oiling up the Republican state machine. For each county Judd's committee selected a person and commissioned him "guarantor to the assessment made at Springfield during the last session, upon the County of ————."[8] To each "guarantor" went a significant letter:

". . . The Committee deem it important, for your protection, that steps be immediately taken to have pledged by subscription, the sum assessed to said County, which is $——— . . . ." An efficient system for collecting the money was suggested: there should be four steps: (1) "the County Central, or Executive Committee, if such there be," otherwise prominent Republicans of the county, should be given charge; (2) they should "circulate immediately a subscription, and get the above amount reliably and distinctly pledged, to be available whenever called for;" (3) appoint a county treasurer, "upon whom the Treasurer of the State Central Committee may make requisitions, as the money may be needed in the progress of the campaign;" (4) notify the committee

[5] Rhodes, *History of the United States*, II, 386.
[6] H. C. Whitney, *Lincoln the Citizen*, 284.
[7] H. C. Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, 84.
[8] Fell MSS., Form letter, June 9, 1859.

that organization has been effected. The appeal concluded with a clarion call:

> To one so well posted in political affairs, it is perhaps needless to adduce arguments, showing the importance of the steps above contemplated. All experience has proven the utility, if not the absolute necessity, of a thorough organization of any party. . . . We confidently appeal to you, and through you, to our Republican friends generally in your neighborhood, to aid us in perfecting what is alone necessary to our complete success—a discipline of our forces. . .
>
> We need not tell you, that to do this, we must have money. . . . Let us then, act promptly, discreetly, but efficiently, and a victory . . . will most assuredly be ours.
>
> In conclusion, we beg of you a prompt attention to the above, making, however, as little stir, and giving the matter as little publicity as may be compatible with the accomplishment of the objects designed.
>
> Respectfully yours,
> N. B. Judd, Chairman
> E. L. Baker, Treasurer.
>
> Jesse W. Fell,
> Corresponding Secretary.

Illinois politics were organized; Republicans and Douglas Democrats (the only genuine parties in the State)[9] were united with other Illinoisans of their faith by a state-wide network of committees under the leadership of men like Judd and Jesse W. Fell, seasoned political organizers, keen observers who always kept an ear to the ground.

Such an organization, however, was essential to success in any hard-fought campaign, while Illinois Republicans in 1859 saw ahead of them a unique prospect, bright with auguries of success. The Democratic split grew progressively wider,[10] and Republican victories in 1859 elections told Republicans that to proceed intelligently would be to elect a President in 1860. But what about a candidate? There was the danger point; that was where the strategy must be used, political intelligence exercised. William H. Seward, the great Republican leader, would certainly be the nominee if nothing

[9] G. B. Raum, *History of Illinois Republicanism*, 64.
[10] Allen Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas*, 397-402.

unusual happened, doubtless would in any event. To stop Seward there would have to be fences built, many wires pulled, much pipe laid, somewhere in the West, and a Western candidate brought forward. It was being done, in Illinois.

When, from the vantage point of a political perspective, one looks back upon the political analysis and predictions of 1860 politicians, the inaccuracy of most of them is astonishing. There was, however, one man in Illinois who analyzed the 1859 political puzzle with what proved to be absolute accuracy—Jesse W. Fell. When Lincoln had but recently become nationally known through his early debates with Douglas, Fell was making a journey through the strong Republican States of the East. As he heard Lincoln praised "the conviction grew in him that in a still larger field Lincoln might become the successful rival of the great Douglas."[11] A short time after the November election in 1858 Fell tempted Lincoln: "Seriously, Lincoln, Judge Douglas being so widely known, you are getting a national reputation *through him;* your speeches, in whole or in part, have been pretty extensively published in the East; you are regarded by discriminating minds as quite a match for him in debate, and the truth is, I have a decided impression that if your popular history and efforts on the slavery question can be sufficiently brought out before the people, you can be made a formidable, if not a successful, candidate for the Presidency."

Lincoln replied, "What's the use of talking of me for the Presidency, while we have such men as Seward and Chase, who are so intimately associated with the principles of the Republican party? Everybody knows them; nobody, scarcely, outside of Illinois, knows me. Besides, is it not, as a matter of justice, due to such men?"

Fell presented forceful reasons. Seward and Chase were too radical; they would repel old conservative parties whose support would be essential to Republican success. "What the Republican party wants, to insure success in 1860, is a man of popular origin, of acknowledged ability, committed against slavery aggressions, who has no record to defend and no radi-

[11] Frances Morehouse, *Life of Jesse W. Fell,* 58.

calism of an offensive character. Your discussion with Judge Douglas has demonstrated your ability and your devotion to freedom; you have no embarrassing record; you have sprung from the humble walks of life, sharing in its toils and trials; and if we can only get these facts sufficiently before the people, depend on it, there is some chance for you." Would not Lincoln, then, give him the details of his private life, so that the public could be informed?

But Lincoln was chary. "Fell, I admit the force of much that you say, and I admit that I am ambitious and would like to be President. . . But there is no such good luck in store for me as the Presidency . . . , besides, there is nothing in my early history that would interest you or anybody else; and, as Judge Davis says, 'It won't pay'."[12]

Lincoln was being made a candidate in spite of himself during the most of 1859. The debates with Douglas had made him the favorite son of Illinois. Hardly was the 1858 election over when a few Illinois editors offered him as their individual choice for the 1860 nomination. One by one, but very slowly,—so slowly that early Lincoln biographers gave the *Central Illinois Gazette* credit for being the first sheet to attempt to boom Lincoln, in its issue of May 4, 1859,—editors proceeded to "nail to the mast-head" Lincoln's name, and in Illinois newspaper gossip he acquired considerable strength, with the result that by the summer of 1859 "Lincoln in the minds of Illinoisans had become first-rate presidential timber"[13]—but not yet in the minds of the right Illinoisans, the politically important ones. 'Tis a fine thing to be mentioned in local newspapers as a man who ought to be President, but in the hard facts of politics, in a national convention, such support amounts to nothing at all. Without the vigorous and astute backing of Republican state politicians the Lincoln boom would have been no more than a quiet "pop." In 1859 Lincoln was without that essential support.

Through the early months of 1859 Lincoln retained the same diffidence regarding his prospects that he had expressed to Fell. To a Rock Island editor he wrote (March 5)

[12] Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: the Prairie Years*, II, 176-178.
[13] A. C. Cole, *Era of the Civil War*, 186.

"Seriously, I do not think I am fit for the Presidency."[14] Lincoln was too good a politician, however, not to see that there was a chance for him. Perceiving that he had become the foremost Republican figure west of Ohio, receiving call upon call to speak in other States,[15] Lincoln set quietly to work on his political fences during the last half of the year, arguing for harmony in his party,[16] smoothing off the radical edges of his own utterances that they might not plague him as Seward was plagued by his own radical expressions.[17] Also like a good politician, he kept on the well-known mask of modesty which the "presidential possibility" wears, repeating (July 28), "I do not think myself fit for the Presidency."[18]

Lincoln's great triumph of 1859 was his work in Ohio, whither he went in September to offset the influence of Douglas in the gubernatorial election.[19] His success impressed the nation anew with his ability to cross swords with the nation's ablest Democrat.[20] His enthusiastic reception at Cincinnati told that he was no longer merely a national name, but was becoming a national figure.[21]

By the closing months of 1859 Lincoln had acquired a strength far exceeding that of the ordinary favorite son. Still, only a few of the strong Republican leaders of Illinois were actively behind him. Orville H. Browning, Quincy lawyer, personal friend of Lincoln, was a power, and he favored Edward Bates of Missouri. On October 12 he wrote in his diary: "N B Judd Esqr of Chicago here tonight. Had long political talk with him. . . . I urged Mr. Bates claims for the Presidency. He is willing to go for him, if he shall appear to be the strongest man, and will put himself on Republican ground."[22] Judd, in his capacities of chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, and the Illinois member of the Republican National Committee (called National Central

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[14] G. A. Tracy, (ed.), *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln*, 104.
[15] Nicolay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln—A History*, II, 177.
[16] D. C. Seitz, *Lincoln the Politician*, 146-148.
[17] Cole, *Era of the Civil War*, 186.
[18] *Writings*, V, 31.
[19] *Seitz*, 148-151.
[20] Johnson, *Douglas*, 410.
[21] F. F. Browne (ed.), *The Everyday Life of Abraham Lincoln*, 213.
[22] T. C. Pease and J. G. Randall (eds.), *Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*, I, 382.

Committee), was the most powerful of Illinois Republican wire-pullers. And he wanted to be Governor, so was willing like a good opportunist to support whichever man seemed most available and able to give most help in creating Governor Judd.

Though he actively promoted his own candidacy, intentionally or unintentionally, when he spoke in Ohio, Lincoln retained the reticence of the "possibility." When a correspondent suggested that a Cameron-Lincoln ticket would be a winner, he replied (November 1):[23]

> As to the ticket you name, I shall be heartily for it after it shall have been fairly nominated by a Republican National Convention; and I cannot be committed to it before. For my single self, I have enlisted for the permanent success of the Republican cause; and for this object I shall labor faithfully in the ranks, unless, as I think not probable, the judgment of the party shall assign me a different position.

When Judd suggested that he might secure the Republican convention for Illinois and thereby materially aid Lincoln's prospective candidacy, Lincoln answered (December 14), "I find some of our friends here in Springfield attach more consequence to getting the national convention into our State than I did, or do."[24] But in December when Jesse Fell repeated his request for autobiographical data, Lincoln composed and sent the famous autobiography.[25] He was stalking the nomination, but his political sagacity warned him not to appear over-anxious.

To Judd, the master strategist, must go credit for the longest single step towards Lincoln's nomination made in 1859. The meeting in New York of the National Central Committee was a battle for the initial advantage among supporters of presidential aspirants. Seward's friends argued for a city in New York, Bates's for St. Louis, Chase's for Cleveland or Columbus. Judd held out for Chicago as neutral ground, and a long combat closed with a victory for Illinois.[26] Here is indubitable evidence that the Lincoln boom was still

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[23] Nicolay & Hay, *Lincoln*, II, 257-258.
[24] *Seitz*, 154.
[25] *Writings*, V, 117-120.
[26] Koerner, *Memoirs*, II, 80.

a local affair, that the prairie lawyer was looked upon by the national party as no more formidable than the garden variety of favorite son. He was still in the background, calling forth no opposition. Lincoln could not have been nominated if the following document had not been written and issued, in late December: "A National Republican Convention will meet at Chicago on Wednesday, the 16th day of May next . . ."[27]

Perhaps it was Judd's work in bringing the convention to Chicago that made Lincoln's colleagues regard him as a man who not only ought to be President, but could be, and caused them to begin effective, united, organization behind him. Doubtless his success in Kansas, where in December he made a triumphant speaking tour,[28] was a weight in the scales. At all events, on an evening during the last week in January of the presidential year,[29] when the lawyer-politicians of Illinois were in Springfield appearing before the Illinois Supreme Court,[30] a caucus was held in the office of Secretary of State O. M. Hatch. Jackson Grimshaw, member of the State Central Committee, had strongly urged Lincoln to allow a group of "intimate friends" to push him for the Presidency, to meet in caucus and launch a concerted movement.[31] Lincoln consented of course. Besides Hatch, Grimshaw, and Lincoln, the plotters were: Norman B. Judd, Leonard Swett, Jesse K. Dubois, Ward Lamon, John W. Bunn, Ebenezer

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[27] *Proceedings of the Republican National Convention . . .* 1860, 1. The original call was for June 13, but in February the Republican National Committee changed the date to May 16. Chicago *Press and Tribune,* February 29, 1860.

[28] Paul Angle (comp.), *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln,* 230.

[29] The exact date of this important meeting is unknown. Biographers, if they mention it at all, are vague as to the time. No exact documentary evidence has come to light, though Herndon, quoting a letter of Jackson Grimshaw written in 1866, dates the caucus "early in 1860." Whitney, writing about 30 years after the event, in *Life on the Circuit With Lincoln* (82-84), takes issue with Grimshaw, insisting that the meeting occurred January 6, 1859. This is hardly probable. That is too early for campaign organization. Also, I hesitate to accuse Lincoln of the high hypocrisy he would have been guilty of had he called himself over and over, in 1859, "not fit for the Presidency," while knowing all the time that he was being actively pushed.

Browning's *Diary* tells that Bushnell left Springfield on February 2. Thus the caucus was held before that date, and probably not earlier than January 24. Since all participants would naturally have been in Springfield by the 24th, there is no reason for believing they would come earlier to talk politics.

[30] *Diary of Browning,* I, 392.

[31] Ward Lamon, *Life of Abraham Lincoln,* 424.

Peck, Nehemiah Bushnell, and a few other prominent leaders.[32] As Grimshaw tells it:[33]

We all expressed a personal preference for Mr. Lincoln as the Illinois candidate for the Presidency, and asked him if his name might be used at once in connection with the nomination and election. With his characteristic modesty he doubted whether he could get the nomination even if he wished it, and asked until the next morning to answer us whether his name might be announced. Late the next day he authorized us, if we thought proper . . . , to place him in the field.

For all his modesty, Lincoln was the astute politician guiding the formation of this powerful "Lincoln for President" club. When Grimshaw asked him if, missing the first place on the ticket, they might work for him as vice-presidential choice, Lincoln refused. By that one stroke he brought these political friends to support him for President, and wiped out the possibility that some would be satisfied with second place on the ticket.[34]

In those days the political pot was always boiling somewhere in its depths. January of the presidential year found the surface beginning to be agitated and giving off copious steam, for other basic features of campaign technique were shaping themselves as the parties cleared decks for action. It was a month during which political clubs sprang up like the proverbial mushroom. The newspaper which served as captain of western Republican journalism, the Chicago *Press and Tribune,* said editorially on January 25:

The campaign of 1860 may be said to have commenced with the assembling of Congress in December last. The extraordinary course which the Democratic members of that body entered upon on the very first day of the session . . . has stirred up the masses of the people in the free States, as they were never stirred before. . . . These feelings find vent,

[32] C. A. Church, *History of the Republican Party in Illinois,* 73-74. Lamon, *Lincoln,* 424; Herndon & Weik, *Abraham Lincoln,* II, 163.
Whitney's list varies considerably, but not enough to assume that he is telling of a different caucus.

[33] Herndon & Weik, *Lincoln,* II, 163.

[34] A very interesting speculation, and an insoluble one (human motives being complex and subtle as they are), arises from the Vice-Presidential aspect of this caucus. Did these men really mean to run Lincoln for Vice-President only; did they ask him to seek the Presidency merely to flatter him? Nicolay & Hay (II, 258) hint that such was the case, but the evidence does not sustain the view.

to some extent, in the organization of political clubs. In this city the movement towards organization is remarkable. Numerous clubs have been formed, and the number enrolled in each is constantly increasing. We . . . trust every Republican voter will enroll himself in some of these organizations.

No great incentive was needed, however, to start statewide organization of political clubs. Was not politics the national sport? Instead of joining a bridge club or country club to satisfy social ambitions, Americans of that age became members of one or more political clubs. But the opening months of 1860 brought additional motivating forces of extraordinary power. Added to the basic importance of politics in the social life of the people were many occurrences which wrought with violent effect upon the slavery controversy—John Brown, *The Impending Crisis,* acid debates pro and contra in Congress, acrimony in the press, numberless other points of combat—all conspired to show that the nation was truly "a house divided against itself," that the conflict was in truth irrepressible. It was impossible during those days to escape a feeling that the moment of the clash was very close; and political emotions reached a fever pitch.[35]

The first month of the great year was the open season for organizing political clubs. Every few days the *Press and Tribune* carried one or more cards like this one:[36]

There will be a meeting of the Young Men's Republican Association, at the office of John C. Miller, . . . Thursday evening, January 5th, at 7½ o'clock. By order.

CHAUNCEY MILLER, President.

The *Illinois State Journal,* strong Republican sheet at Springfield, announced:[37]

REPUBLICANS ATTENTION

A regular meeting of the Young Men's Republican Association will be held on Thursday, January 12th, at half past 7 o'clock, at the headquarters over the new Postoffice Building, for the purpose of making arrangements for the organiza-

[35] E. D. Fite, *Presidential Campaign of 1860,* 1-91.
[36] Jan. 5.
[37] Jan. 11 and 12.

tion of a Lincoln Club. Let every Republican and friend of Abe. Lincoln turn out.

In Chicago[38] a Republican club was organized in every ward by the end of January, each with officers, constitution, meeting place,—in short, ready to work hard at the great American game. And there were special clubs: a Cameron-Lincoln club, "Mechanics and Working Men's Club," "Swedish Republican Club," and the like.[39]

The work went forward so rapidly that by February it could be said:[40]

> The Republicans of Illinois are organizing for the "Irrepressible conflict" of 1860. . . . It is an early commencement, but the earlier the better. The thorough organization of our forces in every part of this State is the earnest of certain victory, and the want of thorough organization is our only danger of defeat.
>
> Republican clubs have been formed or are forming in all the principal cities and towns in the State, and the battle-cry of "Freedom, the Union and Victory" is heard from all quarters.

All this re-awakening of open political activity worked to Lincoln's advantage. Many of the clubs were Lincoln clubs; many newspapers by now printed at the head of their columns, "ABRAHAM LINCOLN FOR PRESIDENT." And Lincoln was now working in his own behalf.[41] The majority of Illinois Republican leaders were working for him, but there was a little coterie which hated Judd and now intrigued against Lincoln because of his association with Judd. Such factionalism might play havoc with the Lincoln boom. To protect himself he wrote Judd (February 9), "I am not in a position where it would hurt much for me to not be nominated on the national ticket; but I am where it would hurt some for me to not get the Illinois delegates. What I expected when I wrote the letter to Messrs. Dole and others [publicly vindicating Judd of treachery charges] is now happening. Your discomfited assailants are most bitter against

[38] Where a spring municipal election was impending, further impetus to organization.

[39] Chicago *Press and Tribune*, Jan. and Feb., passim.

[40] Chicago *Journal*, clipped in *Illinois State Journal*, Feb. 2,

[41] *Illinois State Journal*, Feb. 2.

me; and they will, for revenge upon me, lay to the Bates egg in the South, and to the Seward egg in the North, and go far toward squeezing me out in the middle with nothing. Can you not help me a little in this matter in your end of the vineyard? I mean this to be private."[42] These letters from one politician to another, no small feature of campaign technique at this early date, were moving rapidly back and forth, loading the mails.[43]

Lincoln's strength in the press had reached a formidable height by mid-February. Said one paper:[44]

From every portion of the State we are daily receiving tokens of the strength of the current of public opinion now gathering in favor of Mr. Lincoln. . . . One-half of the papers of the State known as staunchly Republican have already come out strongly for honest Old Abe, and at least half of the remainder have published articles favoring his nomination.

On February 16 the *Press and Tribune* came out editorially for Lincoln, an accession of first importance.

We have no hesitation in saying that . . . Abraham Lincoln of Illinois is the peer of any man yet named in connection with the Republican nominations, while in regard to availability, we believe him to be more certain to carry Illinois and Indiana than any one else, and his political antecedents are such as to commend him heartily to the support of Pennsylvania and new Jersey. . . . We briefly sum up some of the elements of his popularity and strength:

1st. A gentleman of unimpeachable purity in private life. . . .

2nd. A man of, at once, great breadth and great acuteness of intellect. . . .

3rd. Right on the record. . . .

4th. A man of executive capacity. . . .

The editorial closed with a pious prevarication:

We do not know, however, that he has any aspirations for the position. While others are intriguing and trading, he is at his professional work, content to be let alone. Should the Convention give him this position, then the honor which he has not sought, but which his admirers have hopes he might attain, will, like ripe fruit, fall into his hands. Abraham

[42] *Writings*, V, 120-121.
[43] The Trumbull MSS. furnish a good sample of these political epistles.
[44] *Central Illinois Gazette*, Feb. 15.

Lincoln will never be President by virtue of intrigue and bargain.

In all discussions of availability, four States were under careful scrutiny: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. For Fremont in 1856 had lost, among the free States, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, and California; and Republican calculations were that to nominate a candidate who could carry New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois, would make victory a certainty.[45]

The *Tribune,* putting forth all its strength for Lincoln, called for more Lincoln clubs:[46]

> Let us have Lincoln clubs in every ward of every city and in every precinct and township in Illinois. We take it for granted that LINCOLN is the first choice of every Republican in the State. . . . If this is so, let us organize at once in his behalf!

In the parlance of the day, the Lincoln ball was rolling. The prairie lawyer began rapidly to emerge from the favorite son class when the *Tribune* got behind him. Lincoln was looming in the national field, was its announcement on February 27:

> Our Washington letter, printed herewith, points out with great clearness the path in which both principle and expediency demand that the Republican party should go. Avoiding, on the one hand, the radicalism which the popular belief, rightfully or wrongfully, attributes to Mr. Seward and the politicians of his school; and on the other hand the profound conservatism of Mr. Bates and gentlemen of his belief, it leads, through a fearfully fought field, straight to victory.

The *Tribune's* praise of this letter, a penetrating analysis of almost 1,500 words written by young Joseph Medill who was in Washington as the *Tribune* propaganda agent for Lincoln,[47] is fully justified. After pointing out with an abundance of evidence and inexorable logic that Seward the radical would alienate conservative Republicans, that the case with Bates was *vice versa,* Medill hammers his point home, "Does not common sense whisper in every man's ear that the middle ground is the ground of safety?" He concludes, "I hear the name of Lincoln mentioned for Presi-

[45] Nicolay & Hay, II, 260.
[46] *Press and Tribune,* Feb. 24.
[47] Ida Tarbell, *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns,* 385.

dent in Washington circles, ten times as often as it was one month ago. The more the politicians look over the field in search of *available* candidates, the more they are convinced that 'Old Abe' is the man to win the race with. If the States of the Northwest shall unite upon him, and present his name to the Chicago Convention, there is a strong probability that he will receive the nomination, and as certain as he is nominated he will be President."

The force of Medill's arguments frightened the confident Senator Seward. In the famous journalist's words:[48]

The article irritated Seward when he read it, and he took occasion to see me immediately thereafter, and "blew me up" tremendously for having disappointed him—"gone back on him"—and preferring that "prairie statesman," as he called Lincoln. . . . He gave me to understand that he was the chief teacher of the principles of the Republican party before Lincoln was known other than as a country lawyer of Illinois.

While Republican politicians were reading and pondering Medill's trenchant arguments, Lincoln was in New York, ready to deliver his famous Cooper Institute address. In October he had received an invitation to deliver a lecture in New York. As a lecturer Lincoln was, as he might himself have expressed it, "punk," and at the advice of friends he accepted the invitation, provided his talk deal with politics—the only field in which he could speak with ability.[49] Permission received, he set to work on a speech that cost him more time and effort than any previous oration.[50] He plunged into sources of political history like a graduate student, spending many weary hours searching the *Congressional Globe,* Elliott's *Debates on the Federal Constitution,* and files of newspapers,[51] finding facts which he carefully wove into a speech that was to show the skeptical East what kind of a political thinker this favorite son really was.

How splendidly Lincoln succeeded is well known. The New York *Tribune* said, "No man ever made such an impression on his first appeal to a New York audience."[52] Extravagant praise came from the whole Republican press. Eastern

[48] F. Bancroft, *Life of Wm. H. Seward,* I, 531.
[49] Herndon & Weik, *Lincoln,* II, 164.
[50] *Ibid.,* II, 165.
[51] Sandburg, *Lincoln,* II, 208-209. Herndon & Weik, II, 165.
[52] Sandburg, *Lincoln,* II, 214.

Republicans were astonished when, instead of the elaborate imagery and pyrotechnics of western stump speakers, they listened to "a carefully reasoned, thoughtful discourse, addressed to the intelligence and conscience of his hearers."[53]

Lincoln spoke at Cooper Union on February 27, then for thirteen more days he remained in the East, made eleven speeches, "had large audiences everywhere,"[54] and kept himself on exhibition, until when he headed for Illinois again he was no longer known to the East by name and reputation only. His political stature had grown; a dark horse had emerged. The *Press & Tribune,* printing the speech in full, commented: "We are by no means surprised that it called out the highest encomiums of the New York Republican press, or that it was at once determined to issue it in pamphlet form as a campaign document."[55]

Lincoln's success in the East stirred his presidential ambitions with a new intensity. At last he had become a hard worker in the promotion of his own boom. As Herndon tells it:[56]

It was apparent now to Lincoln that the Presidential nomination was within his reach. He began gradually to lose his interest in the law and to trim his political sails at the same time. His recent success had stimulated his self-confidence to unwonted proportions. He wrote to influential party workers everywhere. I know the idea prevails that Lincoln sat still in his chair in Springfield, and that one of those unlooked-for tides in human affairs came along and cast the nomination in his lap; but any man who has had experience in such things knows that great political prizes are not obtained in that way. The truth is, Lincoln was as vigilant as he was ambitious, and there is no denying the fact that he understood the situation perfectly from the start. In the management of his own interests he was obliged to rely almost entirely on his own resources. He had no money with which to maintain a political bureau, and he lacked any kind of personal organization whatever. Seward had all these things and, behind them all, a brilliant record in the United States Senate with which to dazzle his followers. But with all his prestige and experience the latter was no more adroit and no

[53] W. E. Barton, *Life of Abraham Lincoln,* I, 409.
[54] Barton, *Lincoln,* I, 409-412.
[55] March 2.
[56] Herndon & Weik, II, 167.

more untiring in pursuit of his ambition than the man who had just delivered the Cooper Institute speech.

This view of Lincoln's chances rather understates the case. He had no record, hence no bitter enemies; no personal political machine, no charges of manipulation. Better than any "personal organization" of the Seward-Weed variety was that band of Illinois Republican leaders—Judd, Fell, David Davis and the rest—who had by now been pushing Lincoln for more than a month, placing securely behind him the party in Illinois and spreading Lincoln propaganda in the unenlightened States.

To the flood of political letters Lincoln became a heavy contributor. He recognized ethics in the pre-convention scramble for delegates, but was practical, and not too scrupulous to write a significant letter to Mark Delahay, Kansas politician of the office-seeking, time-serving class, who had offered to bring a Lincoln delegation from Kansas to Chicago if Lincoln would pay his expenses:[57]

I can not enter the ring on the money basis—first, because, in the main, it is wrong; and secondly, I have not, and can not get, the money. I say, in the main, the use of money is wrong; but for certain objects, in a political contest, the use of some is both right and indispensable. . . . I now distinctly say this: If you shall be appointed a delegate to Chicago, I will furnish one hundred dollars to bear the expenses of the trip.

Four weeks later he wrote Delahay: "I see by the dispatches that . . . Kansas has appointed delegates and instructed them for Seward. Don't stir them up to anger, but come along to the convention, and I will do as I said about expenses."[58]

Lincoln was attracting nation-wide attention in the press. The Fell autobiography had been expanded into a long article, published in February in a Pennsylvania paper, and widely copied.[59] His eastern triumph was the best possible publicity. And in the Northwest—"It seems as if the whole West was about to rise en masse in favor of the nomination of

[57] Sandburg, *Lincoln*, II, 327. Herndon & Weik, II, 167-169. Tracy, *Uncollected Letters* 134-135.
[58] Tracy, *Uncollected Letters*, 142.
[59] *Central Illinois Gazette*, March 7; Morehouse, *Life of Fell*, 60.

Abraham Lincoln by the Chicago Convention. . . . Paper after paper throughout not only Illinois but the whole northwest, has put his name at the mast head, until the ones which have not done so are the marked exceptions."[60]

March and April were the months of county conventions.[61] They were an essential unit of the political machine, and behind them was the bed-rock of local organization. "We are organizing handsomely," wrote Koerner to Senator Trumbull. "Precinct committees have been appointed, and within the last two weeks precinct meetings have been held, *well attended,* and delegates appointed to a county convention,"[62] Out of these meetings came a closer organization. "We had a very fine County Convention; nearly every precinct well represented. . . . There has not been such an organization here since 1840, and I think even then, we had no such regularity. There is much feeling here amongst our party, and everything augurs well," wrote Koerner to Trumbull.[63] Resolutions were framed, setting forth the county's choices for state and national officers, which the *Tribune* faithfully reported. The following is a typical notice: "The Champaign County Republican Convention was held at Urbana on the 20th inst. . . ." Delegates to the state convention were appointed, resolutions passed, the most important of which read, *"Resolved,* That ABRAHAM LINCOLN of Illinois, is our choice for Republican nominee for President of the United States."[64] Most county conventions resolved in favor of Lincoln for President; it was due him as the favorite son. But many counties were ominously silent on their presidential choice, leaving the decision to the state convention to be held at Decatur on May 9.

Meantime Lincoln and his Illinois backers were quietly negotiating, trying to secure the support of delegates to the Chicago convention. Delegates, not "sentiment among the rank and file," newspaper support, championship of Republi-

[60] *Central Illinois Gazette,* March 28.
[61] Chicago *Press and Tribune,* March 14-May 8, *passim.*
[62] March 15, Trumbull MSS. The thoroughness of county organization varied greatly. Some county conclaves were mass meetings, while in other counties no convention was held.
[63] April 16, Trumbull MSS.
[64] *Press and Tribune,* April 28.

can principles, enthusiastic speaking tours, or anything else, are the forces which make nominations. Without an astute campaign for delegates, the Lincoln boom would have been a "movement," a flurry of opinion, nothing more. On March 24, Lincoln wrote an Ohio delegate to Chicago regarding his presidential chances, "I am gratified to know I have friends in Ohio who are disposed to give me the highest evidence of their friendship and confidence. . . . My name is new in the field, and I suppose I am not the first choice of a very great many. Our policy then, is to give no offense to others—leave them in a mood to come to us if they shall be compelled to give up their first love."[65]

Judd the astute, reflecting upon the small number of delegates Lincoln would have at Chicago if something drastic was not done, was a worried man. He wrote to Trumbull on April 2:[66]

Cannot a quiet combination between the delegates from New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois be brought about—including Pennsylvania—United action by those delegates will probably control the convention—Nothing but a positive position will prevent Seward's nomination—The movement for Lincoln has neutralized to some extent the Bates movement in our State—State pride will carry a resolution of instruction through our convention—This suggestion has been made to Mr. L.

Lincoln's negotiations with Delahay for Kansas delegates came to nothing. Judd's hope for "a quiet combination" met the same fate. But at the very end of April a promising block of delegates appeared upon the market. Lincoln himself arranged for negotiations. A letter from Hon. C. M. Allen of Indiana had informed him that the Indiana delegation would arrive in Chicago on May 12 with the "For Sale" sign out, ready to do business with the highest bidder. Lincoln replied on May 1:[67]

Our friend Dubois, and Judge David Davis, of Bloomington, one or both, will meet you at Chicago, on the 12th.

If you let Usher and Griswold of Terre Haute know, I think they will co-operate with you.

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[65] Seitz, *Lincoln the Politician*, 169-170.
[66] Trumbull MSS.
[67] Tracy, *Uncollected Letters*, 145.

A day later he wrote to R. M. Corwine, Ohio delegate, a letter marked "private:"[68]

It is perhaps proper I should post you, so far as I am able, as to the "lay of the land." First I think the Illinois delegation will be unanimous for me at the start; and no other delegation will. A few individuals in other delegations would like to go for me at the start, but may be restrained by their colleagues. It is represented to me by men who ought to know, that the whole of Indiana might not be difficult to get. You know how it is in Ohio. I am certainly not the first choice there; and yet I have not heard that anyone makes any positive objection to me. Everywhere, except here in Illinois and possibly Indiana, one or another is preferred to me, but there is no positive objection. This is the ground as it now appears.

Lincoln closed with remarks which told that he was in the market for delegates: "My friends, . . . Dubois . . . and . . . Davis will probably be [in Chicago] to confer with friends from other States. Let me hear from you again when anything occurs."

Fence-building was at an end after the first week of May; the convention season was now at hand; booms were to be tested and sanctioned, or discarded. The Lincoln workers had labored assiduously. Lincoln would win the state convention at Decatur in spite of a Seward boom in northern counties, but the Lincoln movement still lacked an important element. There was no vigorous enthusiasm. In the opinion of two seasoned political observers: "The delegates from Illinois will be probably instructed for Lincoln, but finally they may have to decide between Seward and somebody else,"[69] and "An impression is gaining ground that the Chicago Convention dare not nominate Seward, and will not nominate Bates or Lincoln."[70] These views, expressed in personal letters, were sincere, and the truth is that until the Decatur convention Lincoln was, as all dark horses are, a colorless compromise candidate, whose backers were either personal friends or political associates who could do better for them-

[68] *Ibid.*, 146-147.
[69] Koerner to Trumbull, April 16, Trumbull MSS.
[70] Medill to Trumbull, April 16, Trumbull MSS.

selves by supporting him than by doing service for any other candidate.

The young Republican party was a crusading party. It capitalized enthusiasm. Its first canvass was a "hullabaloo campaign" (as political scientists aptly characterize the type) second only to the great Log Cabin and Hard Cider campaign of 1840.[71] And all indications presaged an appeal to the people even more spectacular than that of 1856, for a finish fight with "the slave power" was anticipated.

Up in Chicago, Republicans were preparing to receive the convention with a "spirit of liberality and welcome." The committee in charge of a hall in which the convention would meet had taken an unprecedented step. Five thousand dollars had been raised by subscription, and a rambling two-story wooden shed, "the largest audience room in the United States," was going up early in April. It was thrown up at Market and Lake Streets, for on the Market Street front was a wide space which could accommodate a large overflow crowd. "The Great Wigwam" was the name given it, this plank structure which was to draw great crowds and create a deluge of enthusiasm.[72]

The Wigwam was instantly seized upon as a symbol of Republican vigor. Said the *Press and Tribune*: "The wigwam 'takes.' It is going to be the 'daddy' of a numerous progeny of big and little wigwams. Every Republican club in every considerable town will have its wigwam. The log cabin days are about being revived."[73]

Richard J. Oglesby, Decatur Republican leader, knew political behavior. He knew that the ideal candidate would be the man beloved of the "sovereign voters," a hero with a catchword nickname which made each good Republican want to shout every time the glorious title came into his head. Oglesby had probably not read Gibbon, but he would have agreed with the great historian that "mankind is governed by names." Was there not, he wondered, something romantic about Lincoln which would make the popular heart go out to

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[71] A. W. Crandall, *The Early History of the Republican Party*, 208.

[72] P. O. Ray, *The Convention That Nominated Lincoln*, 5; H. C. Whitney. *Lincoln the Citizen*, 286; W. A. Goodspeed and D. D. Healy (eds.), *History of Cook Co.*, I, 383-384.

[73] April 12.

him and create an enthusiasm matching that aroused by "Old Tippecanoe" in 1840, by "The Pathfinder" in 1856? Did he have "running qualities" which would make him an idol, like Jackson, against whom no charges, no arguments, could prevail? Oglesby had a hunch that there were opportunities, for Lincoln's humble pioneer beginnings were well known in Illinois after the debates with Douglas.

One day Oglesby met old John Hanks, with whom Lincoln had labored back in the good old days. Oglesby wanted to know "what kind of work 'Abe' used to be good at." Hanks replied, "Well not much of any kind but dreaming, but he did help me split a lot of rails when we made the clearing twelve miles west of here." Next day the two went to the rail-splitting site. A rail fence was there which Hanks identified as the rails he and Lincoln had split, and they returned to Decatur with two old rails dragging beneath Oglesby's buggy. The strategy was carefully guarded, the rails hidden in Oglesby's barn until convention day.[74]

The place in which the state convention met on May 9 was a Wigwam. The *Tribune's* prediction had been correct. A Wigwam was an ideal political center, easily and cheaply put up, commodious, a magic creator of boisterous party spirit, a mark of Republican virility. The Decatur Wigwam was constructed of rented lumber and a large canvas borrowed by Oglesby, anchored precariously to a building.[75] It resembled nothing so much as a revival meeting tent. Beneath that low tent was gathered the Republican party of Illinois, "a very large and spirited body, comprising an immense number of delegates, among whom were the most brilliant, as well as the shrewdest men in the party."[76] The conclave was guided by Lincoln men; all was arranged for a rousing Lincoln demonstration. Lincoln himself was there to help out, though he was unaware of the rail plot.[77] As the convention was being

[74] Jane Martin Johns, "The Nomination of Abraham Lincoln . . . ," *Journal*, Illinois State Historical Society, X, 563-564.

[75] *Ibid.*, 562.

[76] Lamon, *Lincoln*, 444.

[77] It is an insult to Lincoln's political acumen, and a huge error, to say, as Lamon does, "He had no special interest in the proceedings, and appears to have had no notion that any business relating to him was to be transacted that day."

organized he was sitting on his heels near the door, ostensibly "a mere spectator."[78]

Oglesby spoke from the platform, "I am informed that a distinguished citizen of Illinois, and one whom Illinois will ever delight to honor, is present; and I wish to move that this body invite him to a seat on the stand." He paused, let suspense spread over the crowd, then shouted, *"Abraham Lincoln!"* A resounding roar of applause instantly burst forth and shook the flimsy Wigwam. Oglesby's motion was carried; Lincoln was seized and pushed toward the stand. But the crowd was too dense, and they lifted him up bodily, balanced him on heads and shoulders where he lay sprawling and kicking as he was gradually pushed toward the stand, which he at last reached "in the arms of some half-dozen gentlemen." Cheering continued tumultuous as Lincoln thanked the assemblage for the affectionate reception, though he appeared (says a witness) "the most diffident and worst-plagued man I ever saw."[79]

The psychological moment for the entrance of those rails had arrived. Oglesby announced that an old Macon County Democrat, who had grown gray in the service of his party, wished to make a contribution.[80] "Receive it! Receive it!" came the shouts. The vote to receive it was carried "with a tremendous hurrah," and through the crowd came marching the old Democrat, old John Hanks himself, and a friend, bearing the two rails upright, decorated with flags and streamers, and with a banner between them which read:[81]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
THE RAIL CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1860

Two Rails From a Lot of 3,000 Made in 1830 by John[82] Hanks and Abe Lincoln—Whose Father was the First Pioneer of Macon County

[78] Lamon, 444.
[79] Lamon, 444-445.
[80] O. H. Oldroyd, *Lincoln's Campaign*, 8-9.
[81] *Ibid.*, 9.
[82] Actually, the banner erroneously read "Thos." Hanks.

Again there came an explosion, a thunder of applause. "The roof was literally cheered off the building, hats and canes and books and papers were tossed aloft, as men jumped and screamed and howled until part of the awning fell on their heads. When the enthusiasm finally subsided the Wigwam was a wreck."[83] For fifteen minutes the tumult lasted,[84] and people "all over the adjacent country," hearing the uproar,[85] knew that politics would soon be the nation's chief activity.

The roaring crowd clamored for a speech from Lincoln. "Gentlemen, John and I did split some rails down there, and if these are not the identical rails, we certainly made some quite as good," said the man who was now the heroic Rail-splitter.[86] No Republican meeting of the canvass would henceforth be complete without a Lincoln rail. All at once the Lincoln boom had acquired an emotional strength which, in Illinois and the West, no other candidate could approach.

John M. Palmer rose and offered a resolution:[87]

> Resolved, That Abraham Lincoln is the choice of the Republican party of Illinois for the Presidency, and the delegates from this State are instructed to use all honorable means to secure his nomination by the Chicago Convention, and to vote as a unit for him.

A Freeport delegate, championing the Seward forces, "bitterly attacked the resolution. Palmer replied in a speech of tremendous force and the resolution was adopted amid great applause."[88] A list of delegates was submitted to Lincoln, then revised according to his directions.[89] Even so, Leonard Swett avers,[90] eight of the twenty-two delegates would gladly have supported Seward.

On the surface, Lincoln was a mere dark horse during the succeeding days, when crowds were pouring into Chicago for the convention. On May 12, Greeley's New York *Tribune* prophesied:[91]

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[83] Johns, *op. cit.*, 564.
[84] Arnold, *Life of Lincoln*, 162.
[85] Oldroyd, 9.
[86] Johns, 565. Accounts of what Lincoln did and said on this occasion vary in detail.
[87] Oldroyd, 9.
[88] Johns, 565.
[89] Arnold, 163.
[90] Oldroyd, 71.
[91] J. M. Davis, *How Abraham Lincoln Became President*, 74.

Mr. Seward will lead, Mr. Bates will come next, Mr. Chase will be third, . . . Mr. Cameron will come next, and then Mr. Lincoln. The latter is being pressed by the Illinois delegation as a compromise candidate and would be accepted by all the Northwest cheerfully.

In the press gossip concerning "prominent candidates for the presidency" which had been flowing in the East for several months, Lincoln's name was virtually unmentioned.[92] On trains coming to Chicago, jammed with politicians, straw votes were being taken, showing Seward so far ahead of all other aspirants that nominating him seemed a foregone conclusion.[93]

But the Railsplitter had advanced. All predictions made previous to the Decatur whirlwind no longer were of value, for Lincoln had acquired a latent strength, a popular force, which politicians knew nothing about before reaching Chicago. It was quite beyond their control, and gave Lincoln a position far stronger than that of the ordinary dark horse.

CHAPTER II

A DARK HORSE TRIUMPHS

A national nominating convention is a ponderous, stupid body. Like a high-speed circular saw, a convention like that which nominated Lincoln has tremendous power, ability to act, but none to think. Many politicians come together with a single end in view—party victory. They seek a definite plan of battle, and leaders that will bring the government safely into their hands. But, human nature being what it is, there are always clashing opinions as to which plans and leaders are best. These differences of opinion have on some occasions been violent enough to defeat the fundamental purpose of the convention by causing the party to commit political suicide. Participants assemble with instructions to act, not to reason, and there is no possibility of selecting candidates through rational deliberation.

Attempts to explain the nomination of Lincoln have been various, so numerous that a thorough scholar has concluded

[92] Ida Tarbell, *Life of Abraham Lincoln,* I, 340-342.
[93] Ray, *op. cit.,* 15-16.

that it "continues to be a mystery to the layman and a perplexity to the learned."[1] Such bewilderment proceeds from the flattering assumption that convention behavior must have a reasonable basis. Nicolay and Hay assert[2] that "Lincoln was chosen not by personal intrigue, but through political necessity." They are right in saying that Lincoln was the candidate behind whom the Republican party was most certain to win in 1860. If the convention had seriously thought the problem through and acted according to the facts of politics, Lincoln would inevitably have been chosen. But men do not work that way in conventions (nor do they often in anything). To secure the nomination, the Railsplitter did not have to be the best candidate; it was only necessary that the convention be made to believe that he was best. Creating that belief was a matter to be handled through manipulation and strategy. Lincoln's interests at Chicago were in the hands of men who pulled the necessary wires with consummate skill and led the convention to the best possible nomination.

Every feature of the setting in which the momentous conclave met was favorable to Lincoln. Politics were raging in robust Chicago; the young city was beside itself with joy and pride at the honor of being host to the body which, since the Democracy had fallen apart at Charleston, would doubtless name the next President. The city was bedizened in gala holiday attire. More than a hundred thousand people lived there, the majority of whom were Republicans and ready to do what they could to advance the interests of "Old Abe."

The ambition of Chicago Republicans in erecting the Wigwam was typical of the convention's popular attraction. The rambling barn measuring 100 by 180 feet had been completed in the nick of time. Ten thousand people could get inside,[3] and so admirably was the shack planned that the crowd was handled with ease,[4] acoustics were perfect,[5] and

[1] F. I. Herriot, "The Conference in the Deutsches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860." *Transactions*, Ill. State Hist. Soc., 1928, 101.
[2] *Lincoln*, II, 263.
[3] There is no uniformity in estimating this crowd, or any other of the whole campaign, as is to be expected. Throughout I have cited the estimate most common and reasonable.
[4] Nicolay & Hay, II, 265.
[5] M. Halstead, *Caucuses of 1860*, 121.

every spectator had a good view of the speaker's platform extending across the entire width of the building, where sat the 466 delegates, each state delegation located by a placard, and sixty-odd newspaper correspondents. In front of the long platform was a series of landings, sloping upward toward the entrance, in which thousands of spectators stood while enjoying the proceedings. Around three sides of the building ran a gallery, provided with seats for ten or twelve hundred ladies and gentlemen.[6] Carpenters left the Wigwam's interior rough, but the labor of young Republican men and women of Chicago had been solicited to add decorations, and on May 10 there could have been seen "a bevy of ladies as busy as ants, decorating, sewing, and arranging wreaths and festoons." Symbols of patriotism were hung up in profusion—flags, state coats of arms, busts of distinguished men. So happy was the result that when gas lights were lit for the first time "everybody, citizens and strangers, delegates and outsiders, . . . all fell in love with the Great Wigwam . . . and its praises were on more than half a score thousand tongues."[7] The Wigwam was "dedicated to the cause of freedom with appropriate ceremonies, music, speaking, singing, and glorification generally"[8] on Saturday evening, May 12, and an enthusiasm was worked up which was "a glorious omen of the future—a prophetic sign, large with golden promise of a glorious harvest of truth and right next fall."[9] Every evening from then until Wednesday, May 16, convention opening day, crowds swarmed into the Wigwam and fervor steadily mounted.

A dozen railways ran to Chicago, more than a hundred trains a day.[10] Excursion rates prevailed, attracting 40,000 visitors, a motley assemblage comprising people of all sorts, and taxing the city's lodging capacity. Days before the convention began work, hotels were "crowded with politicians, lobby men, and delegates caucusing, comparing notes, and arranging preliminaries," said the *Journal*.[11] Though "immense crowds" were yet to come, Chicago was confident of its ca-

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[6] Ray, *The Convention That Nominated Lincoln*, 6.
[7] Ray, 7-8.
[8] Chicago *Journal*, May 12, in Ray, 9.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] J. S. Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders*, II., 83.
[11] Ray, 11.

pacity, for "the latch strings are all out and we can take care of all creation."

Saturday, May 12, the day the Wigwam was dedicated, was noteworthy for other events as well. It was the opening day of those quiet, behind-the-scene conferences between politicians which really decided the convention's course. The Decatur convention two days before had made Judge David Davis a delegate-at-large, and he went to Chicago at once as generalissimo of the Lincoln force. His lieutenants were Judge Stephen T. Logan, Leonard Swett, and Jesse Dubois.[12] Lincoln headquarters were established at the Tremont House, already filling with hostile politicians.[13] Thurlow Weed also arrived, the master-manipulator of New York politics. He had labored for Seward's nomination with all his power for weeks, and had done his work so well that both Weed himself and Seward looked upon the nomination as an absolute certainty.[14] At the Richmond House he was ready for business. Another arrival was Horace Greeley, attending as a delegate by proxy from Oregon, on hand early to work off an old grudge against Seward and Weed.

Davis and his compeers had an early engagement with the Indiana delegation, arranged by Lincoln himself. If Lincoln was to grow beyond the dark horse stage, blocks of delegates must be lined up behind him. The Hoosiers were, says Swett, "about equally divided between Bates and McLean. Saturday, Sunday and Monday were spent upon her, when finally she came to us unitedly with twenty-six votes."[15] These precious votes were leased at the cost of two offices which Indiana politicians wanted—Caleb B. Smith was to be Secretary of the Interior in President Lincoln's cabinet, Wm. P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.[16] Success in the delegate market was not a simple matter of promising offices, however. Indiana had been secured for Lincoln only in case the Hoosiers could make no better deal, for in such circumstances a promise is not a promise but a trial manoeuver.[17]

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[12] Whitney, *Lincoln the Citizen*, 286.
[13] T. W. Barnes, *Memoir of Thurlow Weed*, 262.
[14] Whitney, *Lincoln the Citizen*, 286.
[15] Letter of Swett, in Oldroyd, 71.
[16] Whitney, *Lincoln the Citizen*, 288.
[17] Greeley to Pike, in J. S. Pike, *First Blows of the Civil War*, 520; Halstead, 142.

Monday and Tuesday brought crowds streaming to Chicago. Whole delegations were arriving and receiving brilliant receptions—salutes, fireworks, parades.[18] According to a Kansas delegate, the arrival of the Seward delegation "was the spectacular event of the pre-convention days."[19] They reached Chicago on Tuesday, "thirteen cars full of 'irrepressibles'."[20] On the same train from the East had come the journalist Murat Halstead, he of the graphic pen, telling that "the quantity of whiskey and other ardent beverages consumed on the train . . . was somewhat surprising. . . . And our Western Reserve was thrown into prayers and perspiration last night by some New Yorkers, who were singing songs not found in hymn-books. Others are glad to have the coöperation of Capt. Whiskey, and hail the fact of the enlistment of that distinguished partisan as an evidence that the Republicans are imbibing the spirit as well as the substance of the old Democratic party."[21]

Chicago by Tuesday was overcrowded with political enthusiasts, noise, and confusion. And as to the candidate situation, aside from the towering strength of the Seward forces "all seemed confusion and disintegration" to Procter of Kansas.[22] Against the famous New York statesman was "the field"—more than a half-dozen candidates, each enjoying some support. If the opposition to Seward did not rapidly concentrate on one man the nomination would go to Seward by default. Outside pressure, the force of holiday-making Illinoisans by tens of thousands who talked and made merry for their friend Abe Lincoln, was terrific. The swing to Lincoln may be seen by newspaper dispatches leaving Chicago: Monday—"Abe Lincoln is looming up tonight as a compromise candidate and his friends are in high spirits."[23] Tuesday—"Mr. Lincoln, of Illinois, is rising in prominence."[24] And on Wednesday before the convention opening:[25]

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[18] Ray, 13.
[19] A. G. Procter, *Lincoln and the Convention of 1860*, 5.
[20] Halstead, 120.
[21] Halstead, 121.
[22] Procter, *op. cit.*, 5.
[23] Boston *Herald*, In Davis, *op. cit.*, 74.
[24] New York *Tribune*, *Ibid.*
[25] Halstead, 122.

The amount of idle talking that is done is amazing. Men gather in little groups, and with their arms about each other, and chatter and whisper as if the fate of the country depended upon their immediate delivery of the mighty political secrets with which their imaginations are big. There are a thousand rumors afloat. . . .

The current of the universal twaddle this morning is that "Old Abe" will be the nominee.

The Bates movement, the McLean movement, the Cameron movement, the Banks movement, are all nowhere. . . . "Old Abe" and "Old Ben" are in the field against Seward. Abe and Ben are representatives of the conservatism, the respectability, the availability, and all that sort of thing.

In reality, the "Old Ben" Wade movement was also nowhere; he had neither the qualifications nor the backing of Lincoln.

It was behind the scenes, in innumerable caucuses—those conferences in hotel rooms filled with men, money, smoke, and liquor—that the convention's course was being shaped. Weed at the Richmond House invited arriving delegations. The great mogul himself met the Kansas delegates at the door. He was the last word in graciousness, calling each delegate by name like an old friend, saying in his informal stump speech: "We think we have in Mr. Seward just the qualities the country will need. He is known by us all as a statesman." After enumerating his high qualifications, Weed concluded, "We expect to nominate him on the first ballot, and to go before the country full of courage and confidence."[26]

Back in their rooms the Kansas men encountered Horace Greeley; he also was very complimentary, gracious and winning in manner. Though advocating Bates, Greeley's big purpose was to beat Seward. He drawled out his speech:

I suppose they are telling you that Seward is the be all and end all of our existence as a party, our great statesman, our profound philosopher, . . . but I want to tell you boys that in spite of all this you couldn't elect Seward if you could nominate him. . . . Now, there are states in the North that cannot be induced to support Seward, and without these states we cannot secure electoral votes enough to elect. So, to name Seward, is to invite defeat. He cannot carry New Jersey,

[26] Procter, 67.

Pennsylvania, Indiana, or Iowa, and I will bring to you representative men from each of these states who will confirm what I say.

Greeley returned with Andrew G. Curtin of Pennsylvania, Henry S. Lane of Indiana, and Kirkwood of Iowa, gubernatorial candidates, each of whom emphatically affirmed that Seward could not carry their State.[27]

Carl Schurz, chairman of the Sewardite Wisconsin delegation, found the atmosphere at Weed's headquarters uncomfortably Mephistophelean.[28]. Expecting to meet the distinguished New Yorkers like William M. Evarts, George William Curtis, Henry J. Raymond, and Governor Morgan, he found only Weed, "and around him a crowd of men, some of whom did not strike me as desirable companions," political henchmen whom Weed had brought along to assist him in the work.

What that work consisted in I could guess from the conversations I was permitted to hear, for they talked very freely about the great services they had rendered or were going to render. They had marched in street parades with brass bands and Seward banners to produce the impression that the whole country was ablaze with enthusiasm for Seward. They had treated members of other delegations with no end of champagne and cigars, to win them for Seward, if not as their first, then at least as their second choice, to be voted for on the second or third ballot. They had hinted to this man and that man supposed to wield some influence, that if he would throw that influence for Seward, he might, in case of success, count upon proper "recognition." They had spent money freely and let everybody understand that there was a great lot more to spend. Among these men Thurlow Weed moved as a great captain, with ceaseless activity and noiseless step, receiving their reports and giving new instructions. . . .

In this bustling miniature canvass of hotel-room caucuses there were none more active than the Lincoln-for-President men. Lincoln himself remained in Springfield, being, he said in his whimsical way, "too much of a candidate to go, and not quite enough to stay at home."[29] But all his backers went to Chicago as naturally as they went to bed. Lincoln headquarters at the Tremont, unlike the Seward camp, had no blare

[27] Procter, 7 9.
[28] Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, II, 176-177.
[29] Oldroyd, 71.

and hurrah, no crowds of henchmen. It was a quiet center. Judges Davis and Logan, Dubois, Judd, Dick Yates, John M. Palmer, B. C. Cook, Browning, and Koerner were about the only men always at work.[30] But every man who could be pressed into service for Lincoln was put to work "talking him up" telling of his running qualities as the Railsplitter, his great merits, and above all, his availability.[31] "We worked like nailers," said Oglesby.

Delegate Knapp sent a message to Lincoln on Monday:[32]

> Things are working; keep a good nerve—be not surprised at any result—but . . . your chances are not the worst. We have got Seward in the attitude of the representative Republican of the East—*you* at the West. We are laboring to make you the second choice of all the delegations we can where we cannot make you first choice. We are dealing tenderly with delegates, taking them in detail and making no fuss. Be not too expectant, but rely upon our discretion. Again I say, brace your nerves for any result.

Browning met three New England delegations on Tuesday and plied them with arguments.[33] Greeley was working hard on these New Englanders who favored Seward.[34]

At 12:10 on Wednesday, May 16, the convention began work. The Wigwam was jammed, and outside were 20,000 clamoring enthusiasts. Two sessions were spent in the business of organizing. It was done efficiently, accompanied by spontaneous enthusiasm.

Gossiping, merry-making, caucusing, went on till late at night. The first battle had been won by the anti-Seward forces—a wave of enthusiasm for the Senator had been prevented. The four doubtful States, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, and Illinois, had been brought to assert that Seward could not carry them,[35] and the convention had divided into two camps, the "irrepressibles" and the "conservatives."[36] The ceaseless argument of Curtin, Lane,[37], and Greeley had

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[30] Koerner, *Memoirs*, II, 85.
[31] Davis, 76-77.
[32] C. L. Conkling, "How Mr. Lincoln Received the News of His First Nomination," *Transactions*, Ill. State Hist. Soc., 1909, 63.
[33] *Diary of Browning*, I, 406-407.
[34] Greeley to Pike, in Pike, *First Blows*, 519.
[35] Oldroyd, 71.
[36] Halstead, 131.
[37] A. K. McClure, *Lincoln and Men of War Times*, 32-33.

cleared the way for Lincoln,[38] for the question with the conservative wing now became, "Upon what man shall we unite?"

The nomination was expected on Thursday, and "masses of people poured into town. . . . All adjectives might be fairly exhausted in describing the crowd. It is mighty and overwhelming; it can only be numbered by tens of thousands."[39] The irrepressibles were not a bit daunted by the conservative opposition. An "exceedingly animating" parade tramped dustily about the streets Thursday morning, badge-wearing Sewardites in columns of four, led by its gayly uniformed band, tromping to the popular melody of "O isn't he a darling?" "As they passed the Tremont House where the many masses of the opponents of 'Old Irrepressible' were congregated, they gave three throat-tearing cheers for Seward. . . .

"The Pennsylvanians declare, if Seward were nominated, they would be immediately ruined. They could do nothing. . . . New Jerseyites say the same thing. The Indianans are of the same opinion. They look heart-broken at the suggestion that Seward has the inside track, and throw up their hands in despair. . . . Illinois agonizes at the name of Seward, and says he is to them the sting of political death. . . . Amid all these crys of distress, the Sewardites are true as steel to their champion, and they will cling to 'Old Irrepressible,' . .. until the last gun is fired and the big bell rings."[40]

"The Wigwam was full yesterday, but it is crammed today," Halstead observed. Permanent organization was completed with considerable rumpus on some points.[41] Then the platform was reported and adopted, without much argument, amid enthusiasm greater than any previously exhibited. It was a cautious document, designed to offend no faction of the heterogeneous groups voting as Republicans, and reaching out for the votes of special interests through planks favoring a tariff, homestead legislation, internal improvements, and a Pacific railroad.

A clamor arose to begin balloting for President, but no tally sheets were ready, and the convention adjourned. If a

[38] A. J. Dittenhoefer, *How We Elected Lincoln*, 22.
[39] Halstead, 132.
[40] Halstead, 132.
[41] Halstead, 133.

vote had been taken Seward would certainly have been nominated, for the manoeuvers of the Lincolnites were by no means complete.

There was work to be done that night. The conservatives were not united. Backers of Bates, Chase, and Cameron still had far-fetched hopes that their man might be the one to lead a coalition. At 11:40 Greeley wired his *Tribune*: "My conclusion, from all that I can gather tonight, is, that the opposition to Governor Seward cannot concentrate on any candidate, and that he will be nominated."[42]

The Seward men were confident. They staged a champagne supper at the Richmond House at which 300 bottles were cracked, sent bands around to the various delegations and regaled them with music. These New York politicians, Halstead thought, were "a peculiar people." "They can drink as much whiskey, swear as loud and long, sing as bad songs, and 'get up and howl' as ferociously as any crowd of Democrats you ever heard or heard of. They are opposed, as they say, 'to being too damned virtuous.' They hoot at the idea that Seward could not sweep all the Northern States. . . . At night those of them who are not engaged in caucusing, are doing that which ill-tutored youths call 'raising hell generally'."[43]

The Lincoln men especially had much work to do. Their candidate was, it appears to us now, obviously the only man behind whom the conservatives could unite. But the other conservatives, being politicians, could not see the light, and the Railsplitter's promoters, who were in the game to win, knew that the logic of events could give them no help, that victory could be had only by hard work. The plan was to get for Lincoln 100 votes on the first ballot, make certain an increase on the second ballot, and thus attract the wavering.[44] The mob of spectators in the Wigwam would be for Lincoln, and would be indispensable in efforts to produce the impression that Lincoln was the man of the hour, that he drove that vehicle for which politicians are always on the lookout—the bandwagon.

[42] Halstead, 142.
[43] Halstead, 140.
[44] Oldroyd, 71.

The 100 votes on the first ballot had been promised after much caucusing, and many more meetings were held, arguments traded, bargains struck, during the night, before the Pennsylvania delegation decided, an hour before convention time on Friday, to go for Lincoln on the second ballot.[45] "There were hundreds of Pennsylvanians, Indianans, and Illinoisans, who never closed their eyes that night."[46] One phase of all-night work consisted in making a batch of tickets to be given to men ready to systematically shout for Lincoln in the Wigwam at the proper time, to fill the plank hall with a roaring tumult for Lincoln.[47]

To get that essential Pennsylvania delegation, Davis had to promise Cameron the Treasury Department. Would Lincoln consent? His telegraphed reply to the suggested deal was a crisp "I authorize no bargains and will be bound by none." "All's fair in politics," but Lincoln had scruples, a fact which had made his failures in politics before 1860 more conspicuous than his successes. At the crucial moment in the fishing for Cameron delegates another message came from Springfield, "Make no contracts that will bind me." If this order were followed Lincoln's chances might go glimmering. But if Lincoln had embarrassing scruples, David Davis was ready to play the game to the end. Whitney tells how the fighters at Chicago received the order.[48] "Everybody was mad, of course. Here were men working night and day to place him on the highest mountain peak of fame, and he pulling back all he knew how. What was to be done? The bluff Dubois said: 'Damn Lincoln!' The polished Swett said, in mellifluous accents: 'I am very sure if Lincoln was aware of the necessities—' The critical Logan expectorated viciously, and said: 'The main difficulty with Lincoln is—' Herndon ventured: 'Now, friend, I'll answer that.' But Davis cut the Gordian knot by brushing all aside with: 'Lincoln ain't here, and don't know what we have to meet, so we will go ahead, as if we hadn't heard from him, and he must ratify it'."

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[45] The full story of these bargains and caucuses, a long and complicated one, has never been told. It is much too lengthy to go into here.

[46] Halstead, 142.

[47] Barton, *Lincoln*, I, 432-433.

[48] *Lincoln the Citizen*, 289.

Next morning the irrepressibles were exuberantly confident. Rumors of all-night bargaining did not worry them, and stories of Seward's want of availability in the doubtful States had grown old. As usual they marched behind their band Friday morning, a thousand strong. But when they arrived at the Wigwam it was packed to the doors. Lincolnite strategy had deprived Seward of the support of a thousand leather-lunged rooters.

The Lincoln delegation had called two talented Illinoisans to Chicago for service. One was able, 'twas said, to shout so incredibly loud that on a calm day he could be heard clear across Lake Michigan! The other was a champion in long-distance bellowing. Each of these Senators organized a gang of shouters, were furnished with those counterfeit tickets, came early with their noise teams, and the ramshackle shed was filled with Lincolnites primed for a hurricane of noise. The two stentorian gentlemen were placed on opposite sides of the Wigwam and instructed to sound off when Delegate Cook took out a handkerchief, and to keep going until he returned it to his pocket.[49]

Not a foot of space in the Wigwam was unoccupied when the momentous proceedings began, and a horde of 20,000 (conservatively estimated) milled outside. Nominations were in order, announced the chair. William M. Evarts presented the name William H. Seward. Judd arose. "'I desire, on behalf of the delegation from Illinois, to put in nomination, as a candidate for President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.' (Immense applause, oft repeated.)"[50] Nominating sentences followed presenting Cameron, Chase, Dayton, Bates, and McLean. The motion for Seward was seconded four times, Lincoln's name twice. No words could come nearer to describing an indescribable pandemonium than those of Murat Halstead:

> The only names that produced "tremendous applause," were those of Seward and Lincoln.
>
> Everybody felt that the fight was between them, and yelled accordingly.
>
> The applause, when Mr. Evarts named Seward, was enthusiastic. When Mr. Judd named Lincoln, the response was

[49] Arnold, *Lincoln*, 167.
[50] Oldroyd, 43.

prodigious, rising and raging far beyond the Seward shriek. Presently, upon Caleb Smith seconding the nomination of Lincoln, the response was absolutely terrific. It now became the Seward men to make another effort, and when Blair of Michigan seconded his nomination,

"At once there rose so wild a yell
Within that dark and narrow dell;
As all the fiends from heaven that fell
Had pealed the banner cry of hell."

The effect was startling. Hundreds of persons stopped their ears in pain. The shouting was absolutely frantic, shrill and wild. No Comanches, no panthers ever struck a higher note, or gave screams with more infernal intensity. Looking from the stage over the vast amphitheatre, nothing was to be seen below but thousands of hats—a black, mighty swarm of hats—flying with the velocity of hornets over a mass of human heads, most of the mouths of which were open. Above, all around the galleries, hats and handkerchiefs were flying in the tempest together. The wonder of the thing was, that the Seward outside pressure should, so far from New York, be so powerful.

Now the Lincoln men had to try it again, and as Mr. Delano of Ohio . . . seconded the nomination of Lincoln, the uproar was beyond description. Imagine all the hogs ever slaughtered in Cincinnati giving their death squeals together, a score of big steam whistles going . . . , and you conceive something of the same nature. I thought the Seward yell could not be surpassed; but the Lincoln boys were clearly ahead, and feeling their victory, as there was a lull in the storm, took deep breaths all round, and gave a concentrated shriek that was positively awful, and accompanied it with stamping that made every plank and pillar in the building quiver.

Henry S. Lane of Indiana leaped upon a table, and swinging hat and cane, performed like an acrobat. . . . The New York, Michigan and Wisconsin delegations sat together, and were in this tempest very quiet. Many of their faces whitened as the Lincoln *yawp* swelled into a wild hozanna of victory.

Quiet restored, the first ballot began, starting the roll call with the New England States. Seward showed unexpected weakness; last night's caucusing had cut into his strength. Indiana's block of twenty-six votes for Lincoln "was a startler." The tabulation showed: Seward 173½, Lincoln 102, Bates 48, Cameron 50½, Chase 49, the rest of the 465 scattering; 233 were necessary for a choice. Lincoln, Cameron, and

Bates had shown enough strength to defeat Seward, and with the crowd apparently so spontaneously enthusiastic for Lincoln, politicians with half an eye could see that he was the man to support.

A second ballot was taken, the multitude tense and impatient. Now Vermont and Pennsylvania, as agreed, dropped their favorite sons and came to Lincoln. "The fate of the day was now determined."[51] When the count was totalled Lincoln had gained seventy-nine votes, and the mob was yelling itself crazy for him. Seward now had 184½, Lincoln 181.

The third ballot proceeded amid nerve-wracking tension. The drift to Lincoln was irresistible. "Lincoln's the coming man—will be nominated this ballot," the word was passed along. As the vote of the District of Columbia was cast, completing the ballot, a hundred excited tabulators spread the news that Lincoln had 231½ votes, needing but one and a half more. A hush of suspense spread over the house.[52] In the Ohio delegation a final hurried caucus was taking place. Joseph Medill, placed there to spread more Lincoln propaganda, whispered to Cartter, delegation chairman, "If you can throw the Ohio delegation to Lincoln, Chase can have anything he wants." "H-how d-dye know?" stuttered Cartter. "I know, and you know I wouldn't promise if I didn't know!" Cartter clambered onto his chair; the audience was tense, watching the man as he stuttered out, "I-I a-a-arise, Mr. Chairman, to a-a-announce the c-c-change of f-four votes, from Mr. Chase to Abraham Lincoln."[53]

The deed was done. There was a moment's silence. The nerves of the thousands, which through hours of suspense had been subjected to terrible tension, relaxed, and as deep breaths of relief were taken, there was a noise in the Wigwam like the rush of a great wind, in the van of a storm—and in another breath, the storm was there. There were thousands cheering with the energy of insanity.

A man who had been on the roof, and was engaged in communicating the results of the ballotings to the mighty mass of outsiders, now demanded by gestures at the sky-light over the stage, to know what had happened. One of the Secre-

[51] Halstead, 147.
[52] Halstead, 149.
[53] Reminiscence of Medill, in *Ohio Archaelogical and Historical Quarterly*, XXXIV, 519-520.

taries, with a tally sheet in his hands, shouted—"Fire the Salute! Abe Lincoln is nominated!" As the cheering inside the Wigwam subsided, we could hear that outside, where the news of the nomination had just been announced. And the roar, like the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep that was heard, gave a new impulse to the enthusiasm inside. Then the thunder of the salute rose above the din, and the shouting was repeated with such tremendous fury that some discharges of the cannon were absolutely not heard by those on the stage.[54]

The usual rush of boarding the bandwagon followed, delegation after delegation changing votes to Lincoln, while the uproar continued. A picture of the nominee was brought in and enthusiasm surged anew. The vote was declared,—Lincoln had secured 364; then Evarts reluctantly moved that the nomination be made unanimous. Next came three anticlimactic speeches in which Seward was declared a supremely great man. How melancholy it was that party success made his choice inexpedient—was the gist of this application of balm to injured feelings.[55]

After adjournment "the town was full of the news of Lincoln's nomination, and could hardly contain itself. There were bands of music playing, and processions marching, and joyous cries heard on every hand, from the army of trumpeters for Lincoln of Illinois, and the thousands who are always enthusiastic on the winning side. But hundreds of men who had been in the Wigwam were so prostrated by the excitement they had endured, and their exertions in shrieking for Seward or Lincoln, that they were hardly able to walk to their hotels. There were men who had not tasted liquor, who staggered about like drunkards, unable to manage themselves. The Seward men were terribly stricken down. They were mortified beyond all expression, and walked thoughtfully and silently away from the slaughter house, more ashamed than embittered. They acquiesced in the nomination, but did not pretend to be pleased with it." At the Tremont House dinner table a Lincoln man held forth on the great events of the day. "Talk of your money and bring on your bullies with you!—

[54] Halstead, 149-150.
[55] Oldroyd, 54-57.

the immortal principles of the everlasting people are with Abe Lincoln, of the people, by — . Abe Lincoln has no money and no bullies, but he has the people by — ." He was one of thousands who lauded the selection of their hero with similar eloquence.[56]

At the last session, in the evening, Hamlin of Maine was in two ballots chosen as Lincoln's running mate, selected, as an old Democrat and friend of Seward, to balance the ticket. Then, after "cheers for the ticket, the Platform and the Ladies of Chicago," the convention adjourned, "to meet at the White House on the Fourth of March next."[57]

CHAPTER III

THE WORLD AS POLITICS

The city which had been a madhouse for days became a pandemonium, a maelstrom of exultation, when the news was sounded abroad that the favorite son of Illinois had been chosen. Lincoln's tens of thousands of votaries were all in the streets "raising Ned" for all they were worth. Celebrants formed processions and bore rails through the crowded thoroughfares. "Torrents of liquor were poured down the hoarse throats of the multitude." Atop the Tremont House was a cannon which boomed a hundred times,[1] its echoes "caught up and answered from other parts of the city almost as soon as their flashes were seen across the night sky."[2]

Republicans packed the Wigwam in the evening with a grand rally, where the enthusiasm evoked was (needless to say) "beyond description," and "dispatches were read from New York, Philadelphia and other cities stating that ratification meetings were assembling, guns firing, processions upon parade, etc., throughout the whole country."[3] Numerous buildings were lit up by "variegated lights in every window," notably the *Press and Tribune* office, where on each side of the counting-room door stood one of those rails split by

[56] Halstead, 151.
[57] Ray, 35.
[1] Halstead, 153.
[2] Ray, 36.
[3] Ray, 35-36.

"Honest Old Abe." Inside were two more "brilliantly hung with tapers."[4] Bonfires glowed red on numberless corners and rockets "clove through the air like fiery telegrams to the stars." Early-formed companies of Wide Awakes turned out, and with their gleaming uniforms and torches inspired crowds to parade about, shoulders bearing rails or anything resembling rails, their marching measured by the music of a score of bands.

Several of these triumphal processions united and marched to the *Tribune* office where they rendered "soul-inspiring cheers and exclamations of victory which awakened a loud response from the honest hearts of the . . . employees. . . . Babel had come again: the Democratic Jericho shook at the shouts and blowing of trumpets and holding of torches in the left hands of Republican Gideons."[5] Between swallows Republicans shouted that Lincoln and Hamlin were good men and true, abetted by steamboat whistles, steam whistles of factories and trains, and even church bells[6] in their payment of bacchanalian homage to Abraham Lincoln, the Republican party, and John Barleycorn.

All over the State Republicans were holding jubilee. At Pontiac the celebration was typical of what was going on in every community where Republicans lived. No sooner had the glorious news come over the wire than Republicans commenced to congregate in the court house square. An anvil was secured (in default of a cannon)[7] and "one hundred times did it boom forth over our prairie, each time carrying with it the enthusiastic shouts of Republicans." A ratification meeting was arranged to meet at the court house in the evening. "The boys 'shelled out' liberally," candles were purchased, "and at an early hour the court house presented the appearance of a solid blaze, illuminated in every nook and corner, many people living away from the square supposing the building to be on fire, rushed to the scene. . . . The court house

[4] Halstead, 153.

[5] Ray, 36.

[6] Sandburg, II, 347.

[7] Cannon booms were a noise essential to political demonstrations, and when no cannon was available the practice called "shooting anvils" was substituted. The usual method was to secure two anvils, place one atop the other, an iron ring filled with powder between them. A fuse or powder train was lit, the charge exploded, and the top anvil shot into the air with a loud boom. Related by Dr. B. F. Hutchings of Crawfordsville, Ind.

was full of enthusiastic Republicans, whose greatest difficulty was to suppress the outbursting of overflowing feelings." Four speeches "worthy of the occasion" were made, and resolutions endorsing the platform and the ticket adopted, "greeted with the wildest enthusiasm, and after three loud and long cheers for 'Honest Old Abe,' the meeting adjourned." Meantime a large bonfire had been kindled nearby, around which celebrants lingered far into the night.[8]

In Springfield "there was a general firing of guns, shaking of hands, ringing of bells, hurras and shouts that set the whole town in an uproar."[9] An evening ratification meeting at the State House greeted several speakers with "deafening cheers," then the merry-makers formed in procession behind a band and marched to Lincoln's home. The throng clamored for their hero. Lincoln came out and spoke briefly, saying that for his position on political questions his previous public speeches should be consulted—the position he held throughout the canvass. Loud applause; Lincoln said he would invite the whole crowd inside if his house could hold them, ("We will give you a larger one on the 4th of next March," cried a voice), but since it could contain only a fraction of those outside he would merely invite as many as could crowd in.[10]

Murat Halstead left Chicago late Friday on a crowded night train, impressed by what he observed.[11]

I never before saw a company of persons so prostrated by continued excitement. The Lincoln men were not able to respond to the cheers which went up along the road for "Old Abe." They had not only done their duty in that respect, but exhausted their capacity. At every station where there was a village, until after two o'clock, there were tar barrels burning, drums beating, boys carrying rails; and guns, great and small, banging away. The weary passengers were allowed no rest, but plagued by the thundering jar of cannon, the clamor of drums, the glare of bonfires, and the whooping of the boys, who were delighted with the idea of a candidate for the Presidency, who thirty years ago split rails on the Sangamon

[8] C. C. Strawn, F. B. Johnson, G. H. Franzen (eds.), "History of Livingston Co," in Bateman & Selby (eds.), *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Livingston Co.*, II, 659.

[9] *Illinois State Register*, May 19.

[10] Oldroyd, 78-79.

[11] Halstead, 154.

River—classic stream now and forevermore—and whose neighbors named him "honest."

For the Republicans the campaign was on. In addition to the impromptu ratifications which the nomination elicited, the ticket had to be formally ratified,—a long and laborious process lasting until August 9.

And on Saturday at Springfield politics again infused variety and excitement into the humdrum life which was the usual order on the prairie. During the whole evening the town was alive with enthusiasm. Many bonfires blazed; fireworks made the night more colorful; cannon volleyed; for in the evening a committee arrived from Chicago to formally notify Lincoln of his nomination. Springfield's entire population was astir. The special train bearing the committee, crowded with enthused Republicans, was met at the depot by the Springfield Lincoln club and a "very large concourse of citizens, who escorted them through the principal streets to the Chenery House, the Young American Silver and the German Saxe Horn Bands discoursing music by the way, while the cannons fired, bonfires blazed, and rockets and other fireworks were sent up from various parts of the city, many houses upon the square being brilliantly illuminated. The streets meanwhile were crowded and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. Upon the arrival of the Committee at the Chenery, cheers were given by the crowd to Gov. Morgan of New York, Francis P. Blair of Maryland, Gov. Boutwell of Massachusetts, and three cheers and a tiger for the Pennsylvania delegation. From the hotel the procession deployed off to the State House."[12] So instantly had the Railsplitter symbol taken hold of the imagination that two or three hundred members of the crowd arriving from Chicago paraded with rails on their shoulders, military fashion, and when the procession reached its destination in the Hall of Representatives, stacked them like muskets. Republicans gathered there to hear five speakers hot from Chicago, men whose oratory "brought down the house with volleys of deafening cheers," were "rapturously applauded,"

[12] *Illinois State Journal*, May 21.

or at least "received with immense applause," holding the crowd until a late hour.[13]

The Democrats of Springfield had no nomination to ratify; their campaign was not yet under way, but a Democratic rally had been called for Saturday night, and "a contest ensued whether the republicans or democrats should carry the night. . . . Night came, and the eager and impetuous democracy congregated upon and around and about the portico of the Court House. Those who were still behind were hastened on to the appointed rendezvous by the wild and enthusiastic shouts of their assembled brethren.

"When the court house and all its passages and approaches had been packed with human beings, almost to suffocation, the assemblage was called to order. . . . The 'Union Silver Band' now resumed its performance, in discoursing such music as charmed while it kindled the multitude to the wildest enthusiasm. Three cheers for Douglas and McClernand followed, and a universal call was now made for Colonel McClernand. He responded . . . in a powerful speech, in which he enchained the eager audience for over an hour," saying that the only way out of the welter of strife between Abolitionists and fire eaters was to elect Douglas. Cheers and resolutions; then the meeting "adjourned to the street and formed in procession, and after marching around the public square twice, to the martial music of the 'Union Band' " trooped to McClernand's residence, where "after saluting him with a national air by the band, and three rousing cheers," the Colonel responded "in glowing terms of gratitude," and introduced "to the multitude Charles A. Keys, Esq., who entertained the listening audience with an eloquent and brilliant appeal of some fifteen minutes, in favor of Douglas and the democracy, and in approbation of their representatives in congress." The crowd formed in procession again, paraded back to the square and around, then to the home of the *Register's* editor and gave him a serenade before disbanding.[14]

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[13] *Illinois State Journal*, May 21.
L. W. Volk, "The Lincoln Life-Mask . . .", *Journal*, III, State Hist. Soc., VIII, 246.

[14] *Illinois State Register*, May 21.

But when the partisan papers reported the Saturday night celebrations of their opponents there was a slight difference of opinion. The *Register* said:[15]

The pyrotechnic display of our Republican friends entertained a large crowd of ladies and children upon the streets, during the evening, but their gathering in the representatives hall was a meagre one, considering their great efforts to get up a striking demonstration. Speeches of the most rabid abolition character were got off.

The *Journal* reported:[16]

The democracy attempted a meeting on Saturday night at the Court House, the "Grecian Orator" and Murray McConnel being the speakers appointed to tell them how it happened that Mr. Douglas did not get the Charleston nomination; but the attendance was slim as the enthusiasm was weak. It was impossible to hold even the few who did collect on the Court House steps, the Lincoln demonstration carrying everything along with it, and after a short time, the affair solemnly "petered" out.

So it went throughout the whole campaign. Newspapers were not vehicles of information but organs of party propaganda.

Life was hard and monotonous in 1860 Illinois, and opportunities for excitement and social intercourse were few, and therefore valued highly. Politics served admirably, and politics was a sport in which almost everyone participated. But effective political activity, the securing of the government by party means, called for organizers. These political leaders were politicians not merely for fun; it was a business proposition with them. After the election, when the President-elect was being besieged by office-seekers, a Democratic paper chuckled, "HOLD ON GENTLEMEN!—We would suggest . . . that it is utterly impossible for every man who voted for 'Old Abe' . . . to get an office."[17] Artemus Ward came to interview Lincoln amid the swarm of job-seekers, remarking:[18]

I hiv no politics. Nary a one. I'm not in the bisness. If I was I spose I should holler versiffrusly in the streets at

[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Illinois State Journal*, May 21.
[17] Ottawa *Free Trader*, Nov. 17.
[18] Charles Farrar Browne in Oldroyd, 183.

nite and go home to Betsey Jane smellin of coal ile and gin in the mornin. I should go to the Poles arly. I should stay there all day. I should see to it that my nabors was thar. I should git carriages to take the kripples, the infirm and the indignant thar. I should be on guard agin frauds and sich. I should be on the lookout for infamus lise of the enemy, got up jes be4 elecshun for perlitical effeck. When all was over and my candydate was elected I should move heving & arth—so to speak—until I got orfice, which if I didn't get a orfice I should turn round and abooze the Administration with all my mite and maine.

These facetious exaggerations are based upon fundamental features of campaign technique. Speaking at the outset of his struggle with Douglas in 1858, Lincoln accounted for the superior vigor of his opponent's campaign. "Senator Douglas is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party . . . have been looking upon him as certainly at no distant day to be President. . . . They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face postoffices, land-offices, marshalships, and cabinet appointments, chargé-ships and foreign missions bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they cannot . . . give up the charming hope; but with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, and give him marches, triumphal entries, and receptions. . . . On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages . . . that the Republicans labor under. We have to fight this battle upon principle and principle alone."[19]

In 1860, however, the Republicans were by no means dependent upon principle alone. Politicians saw cabbages sprouting from Lincoln's countenance more abundantly than had ever been the case with Douglas. Prospects of Republican success were so bright that "the cross-roads politicians in every county—the real depositories of political strength,"[20] would have been untrue to their art had they failed to turn

[19] Nicolay & Hay, II, 143-144.

[20] J. O. Cunningham (ed.), "History of Champaign County," in Bateman & Selby, *Hist. Encyc. of Ill. and Hist. of Champaign Co.*, II, 788.

Republican, seeing in the distance the loaves and fishes,[21]—a prediction which contributed to its own accomplishment. Many old Democrats were like one Mr. Watt of Chester, who renounced Douglas, affirming that he had supported him "as long as any honest man ought to," took the stump for Lincoln, and was applauded by the Republican press for his splendid moral regeneration.[22]

Organization of Republican clubs proceeded apace. In Peoria county a Republican club was organized in every township in the county at once, and preparations were made to carry on the campaign.[23] Even in rock-ribbed Democratic Egypt the confident Lincolnites hoped "to rout them from their stronghold. The Republicans are up and doing and the party will be well organized in all the southern counties of Ills."[24] The State Central Committee sent a letter marked private to loyal Republicans.[25]

The importance of the campaign upon which we have entered and the fact that the favorite son of Illinois has been made the standard-bearer of the Republican hosts of the nation—by which the *obligations of honor* are added to the promptings of duty—are, we trust, sufficient to call forth the utmost efforts of the Republicans of the State from now till the day of election. Careful and systematic ORGANIZATION is our safety. We take it for granted that you have an active and efficient County Committee. If there is a town or a precinct in your county in which there is not a local club or committee, co-operating with the central organization, it should be attended to forthwith.

Blanks were enclosed to be used in reporting all Republican clubs and committees and their officers "in order that we may be able to correspond with them and forward documents and circulars as the exigencies of the campaign may require."

We would also urge that the *registration of voters* . . . be carried forward to completion. . . .

In conclusion, we would observe that the auguries of success are *greatly encouraging* both in the State and nation. If we all do our duty WE SHALL NOT FAIL.

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[21] *Rockford Register*, June 2.
W. H. Herndon to Trumbull, June 19, Trumbull MSS.
[22] Belleville *Advocate*, July 19.
[23] Strawn, et al (eds.), "Hist. of Peoria Co.", II, 659.
[24] J. D. Ellington To Trumbull, June 6, Trumbull MSS.
[25] Fell MSS., Form letter, June 23.

An institution unique to the 1860 canvass, and of fundamental importance in opening the sluices of enthusiasm, were the Wide Awakes. The movement began quite by accident in Hartford, Connecticut,[26] and Chicago was the second city to inaugurate the "new, peculiar, unique, and formidable organization."[27] June and July saw local Wide Awake companies being formed in scores of towns;[28] organization continued in August[29] until every town not completely under the heel of the Democrats boasted one of these marching Republican clubs drilled with military precision.[30]

In action they were an impressive sight. The Chicago *Democrat* pictures them. "The Wide Awake organizations of this city have very frequent parades, and their appearance is sure to draw together large crowds at the meetings to which they march. They generally make their appearance in the streets shortly after nightfall. The stranger who sees the Wide Awakes for the first time is strongly impressed with the peculiar spectacle which they present. He hears the strains of martial music, and beholds a large body of men, bearing blazing torches, and marching in fine military order. Each man bears a thin rail, surmounted with a large swinging lamp and a small American flag, bearing the names of Lincoln and Hamlin. The uniform of the privates is a black enamelled circular cape, quite full and of good length, and a glazed military fatigue cap, with a brass or silver eagle in front. Some companies are uniformed with blue, red, drab, and silver gray caps and capes and relieve the monotony of the darker uniforms. The captains and non-commissioned officers are distinguished by an Iverness overcoat, with black cape and undress military caps. In some companies the captain carries a red, the aids a tri-colored, and the lieutenant a blue or green lantern; in others, the captain merely carries a painted baton. The measured tread, steady front and unbroken lines speak of strict attention to drill, and the effective manner in which

[26] Nicolay & Hay, II, 284-286.
[27] Chicago *Democrat*, Sept. 24.
[28] Chicago *Press & Tribune*, Canton *Weekly Register*, Belleville *Advocate*, *Illinois State Journal*, June and July, *passim*.
[29] C. A. Church, *History of Rockford*, 378.
[30] D. McCulloch (ed.) "History of Peoria Co.," in Bateman & Selby, *Hist. Encyc. of Ill. and Hist. of Peoria Co.*, II, 156.

the various bodies are managed by their officers shows conclusively that men of military experience control their movements."[31] One observer recalls having seen them parade, "the flickering lights passing like a fiery dragon as far as one could see."[32] The Wide Awakes were "not alone intended for torchlight processions, but . . . designed to cooperate in all the minutiae of political work, and by arguments, documents, and all honorable means, to secure the wavering and persuade the hostile, acting as distributors, checkers, challengers, and patrolmen, bringing every vote to the polls."[33] A few hundred Republicans mounted horses and became mounted Wide Awakes or "Lincoln Rangers."[34]

The Wigwam symbol was another instant favorite, and in every principal city a ramshackle structure was set up where Republicans came together for day and night meetings.[35]

Campaign documents began to pour over the State. Since the first of the year Republicans had been gathering their ammunition. Washington was document headquarters, and Senator Trumbull received many requests like Judd's, who wrote, "May I trouble you for the enclosed list of documents for myself?"[36] The last act of the retiring Republican State Central Committee, one day before its reorganization at the Decatur convention, was the sending of a letter to county chairmen concerning documents, showing the care with which this work was done:[37]

Trusting that you heartily concur with us as to the vital importance of a thorough and systematic dissemination of Republican documents, . . . we would in the most earnest manner ask of you at once to see to it that a carefully prepared document list be gotten up and forwarded to the National Committee from your county.

On the heels of the nomination important party sheets like the *Press and Tribune* and *Illinois State Journal* announced for sale documents from their own presses,[38] and offered special sub-

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[31] Chicago *Democrat*, Sept. 24.
[32] J. S. Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders*, II, 102.
[33] Chicago *Democrat*, Sept. 24.
[34] Chicago *Press & Tribune*, June 8, Chicago *Democrat*, Sept. 24.
[35] McCulloch, "Hist. of Peoria Co.," II, 156.
[36] Judd to Trumbull, April 2, Trumbull MSS.
[37] Fell MSS., Form letter, May 8.
[38] *Illinois State Journal*, May 22. Chicago *Press & Tribune*, May 31.

scription rates for the campaign. Manufacture and sale of campaign documents, Wide Awake uniforms, statuettes and busts of Lincoln and Douglas became profitable businesses.[39]

The Democrats were unfortunate in entering the campaign late. The state ticket, chosen on June 13, was not a strong one,[40] and Douglas was not nominated until ten days later at Baltimore, on which occasion Democrats all let loose an outburst that matched the Lincoln enthusiasm. "The electric flash from Baltimore produced a spontaneous, simultaneous uprising of the democratic masses in every state, city, and village, as far as heard from," said the *Register*.[41] At Ottawa, for instance, the great news was announced, and "in a minute more the hats of sundry Democrats were seen waving from the windows, their owners shouting at the top of their voices for DOUGLAS. If Metropolitan Block had suddenly been enveloped in flames, it could not have caused a greater rush in that direction. 'Hurrah! Hurrah!' 'Douglas is nominated,' was shouted by hundreds rushing down the streets, tumbling out of shops and stores, running through the alleys,—all towards the telegraph office, in front of which, in less than ten minutes, the street was blocked for half a square, with enthusiastic Democrats, shouting, cheering, and giving free expression to their joy in every conceivable way."[42]

This Democratic sheet went on to give a typical partisan account of political events, the kind of warped reporting that was to be repeated hundreds of times during the canvass.

What a contrast was this to the tame, dubious, halting, doubting reception of the news of Lincoln's nomination at Ottawa! The contrast is just as great and marked between the affection entertained for Douglas by the masses, and the enthusiasm with which they support him everywhere, and the lack of devotion and enthusiasm on the part of the friends of Lincoln. The one is the statesman, thoroughly entrenched in the hearts of the people; the other is a makeshift candidate—the "rail splitter"—the factitious big man of the exigency of a day.

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[39] Chicago *Press & Tribune*, June 29.
[40] Cole, *Era of the Civil War*, 196.
[41] *Illinois State Register*, June 26.
[42] Ottawa *Free Trader*, June 23.

Organization of Democratic political clubs of course went on, but since the loaves and fishes were a dim prospect, all the work was left to staunch Democrats. Their former friends, the cross-roads politicians, were now rabid Republicans. As late as August 9, when their opponents were not only organized but unremittingly at work, the *Register* demanded that the Democracy really organize.[43]

> The Douglas fires are blazing brightly. . . . The enthusiasm for our candidate and his principles is intense, and is moving the masses of the people. . . .
>
> But we want something more. We must have organization—a thorough organization. General enthusiasm will not supply its place. . . .
>
> The "Democratic clubs" and "Little Giant clubs" which are forming in every town, can perform this work, if they will consent to take it in hand. . . .
>
> We repeat it—the State must be organized.

In campaign technique originality is a force of highest value. If one party hits upon a successful means of rousing the rabble, the other has no other choice than to copy. The Democracy was bound to imitate the powerful appeal the Republicans had launched. Marching clubs were organized, almost identical with the Wide Awakes in formation and activities, called "Ever Readys," or sometimes "Little Giants,"[44] or "Douglas Invincibles."[45] The Democracy could not very well put up Wigwams (the Republicans would have said forcefully and often that Democratic brains were dead and able only to follow Republican examples), so in the larger cities they had to be content with renting some large hall and dedicating it to the Democratic cause for the campaign.[46]

The flood of rallies was opened in June by county ratification meetings. A typical gathering was the ratification of Livingston County Republicans, held June 23 at a landmark known as Longnecker's Grove. The crowd of 2,000 was smaller than most, but enthusiasm was there in plenty. The

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[43] *Illinois State Register*, Aug. 9.

[44] McCulloch (ed.), "Hist. of Peoria Co.", II, 156.
Strawn et al, "Hist. of Livingston Co.", II, 666.

[45] C. H. Partride (ed.), "History of Lake Co.", in Bateman & Selby, *Hist. Encyc. of Ill. and Hist. of Lake Co.*, 646.

[46] Goodspeed & Healy (eds.), *History of Cook Co.*, I, 389.

contingent from Pontiac, comprising "everybody apparently," assembled early in the morning, formed in procession under a marshal, and drove in wagons many dusty miles to the grove. The procession was featured by a large flat-boat, 20 feet in length, (Lincoln was in campaign motive a flatboatman as well as a railsplitter), rigged up on a wagon and labeled "Old Abe's Boat," in which sat a glee club, making the trip gay with rollicking campaign songs. The cavalcade, brilliant with waving flags and banners, drove for three hours across the prairie, sighting the grove upon which other gay processions were converging, at eleven o'clock. Entering the grove under escort, "three rousing cheers were given by the vast assemblage for Lincoln and Hamlin, and the whole Republican ticket." The speaking platform was the attraction for a time, then the crowd "adjourned to two monstrous tables, each 125 feet long, ranged side by side and completely loaded down with the good things of life, and everyone went away satisfied." After dinner there were more speeches, and singing by the Pontiac Glee Club, "the whole audience joining in on the chorus."[47]

The Democracy of course ratified the nomination of Douglas with storms of enthusiasm,[48] and so began a summer and autumn of rallies by the hundred, absorbing the energy of the whole population in the multifarious activities of politics.[49]

The work of ratifying Lincoln's nomination was finished by the grand ratification meeting at Springfield on August 8. Wide Awake clubs were invited from all over Illinois;[50] they came to Springfield on trains, in wagons, and even of foot, marching across the torrid prairie distances hardly believable. One company arrived after a trek of a hundred miles. Farmers also spent days making the trip, camping by the roadside at night.[51] These August days were wheat sowing time, but

[47] Strawn, et al, Hist. of Livingston Co.," II, 660-661.
[48] Ottawa *Free Trader*, July 7.
[49] A. McLean (ed.), "Hist. of McDonough Co.," in Bateman & Selby. *Hist. Encyc. of Ill. and Hist. of McDonough Co.*, 771.
[50] Oldroyd, 107-109.
[51] W. H. Smith, "Old-Time Campaigning and the Story of A Lincoln Campaign Song," *Journal*, Ill. State Hist. Soc. XIII, 23.

faithful Republicans did not allow that to divert them from that more important pursuit, politics.

The rally itself, all affirmed, was worth the great labor its staging required. "A veritable political earthquake passed over this part of the State on yesterday," said the *Journal* next day. "We have no adequate words to describe what our eyes beheld. Never, we believe, in the history of the country, was there a larger or more magnificent political demonstration." A national salute was fired at sunrise, opening the festivities, "but even at that early hour the roads leading to town were already filled with vehicles, and the streets were alive with hurrying crowds. Long before nine o'clock one dense mass of human beings lined all the thoroughfares. Streamers, flags, banners and mottoes, were flung to the breeze in all directions, and the city assumed a holiday appearance, the like of which was never before witnessed." As delegations arrived, in great numbers, they were directed in formation by a hundred-odd marshals and aids, under a chief marshal who guided the formations like Caesar preparing an advance.

By ten o'clock the line was formed and the vanguard began to move. The caravan stretched for miles, magnificent with flags, banners, mottoes, bands, Wide Awakes in uniform, ingenious floats. At the head of the procession rolled an immense ball plastered with mottoes like:

"The Republican ball is in motion."
"The people mourn insulted laws,
And curse Steve Douglas as the cause."
"Westward the Star of Empire takes its way.
We link-on to Lincoln—our fathers were for Clay."

Next came a colorful string of nearly two dozen Wide Awake teams, each with its band, followed by forty-one couples on gaily caparisoned horses, after which came floats, then county and town delegations, each containing from 15 to 200 wagons loaded with noisy patriots. In this tremendous parade of nearly eight miles were many striking floats. On one huge wagon bearing the motto, "Protection to Home Industry," was a power loom, driven by a small steam en-

gine, making yards of jeans cloth "from which a pair of pantaloons for Mr. Lincoln were cut and made up." On another wagon was a log cabin with an old settler in front splitting rails; and on a ponderous dray, drawn by 23 yoke of oxen, "was a perfect medley of work-shops," and a gang of men bobbed up and down splitting rails. A constant noise of cheering and ballyhoo was kept up all along the line, and "in passing the residence of Mr. Lincoln particularly, the hurrahs were incessant."

Added to the thousands in the procession, which reached the Fair Grounds west of Springfield at two o'clock, were the streams of people who came by whatever means they could find. "How many were present it is impossible to tell. . . . [75,000 is the usual estimate]; the fields adjoining were packed and jammed with wagons and other vehicles. And yet, while this immense mass of human beings were out at the Fair Grounds listening to the speaking, the throng upon the streets was not apparently in the least diminished in numbers."

Five speaking stands had been erected, from which more than a dozen speakers delivered harangues. Songs added to the entertainment, and there were cheers without end. The announcement of the unexpected arrival of Lincoln himself "was the signal for a display of wild enthusiasm, the like of which was never before witnessed by an Illinois audience. There was a rush from every stand towards his carriage, which was immediately surrounded by his warm admirers, and Mr. Lincoln was forced almost violently from the vehicle, and carried upon the shoulders of the crowd to an impromptu stand, where he was called upon for a speech. The huzzahs and cheers which greeted him were continued nearly ten minutes without cessation, the uproar being so great that he could not make himself heard." Order partially restored, Lincoln said, "It has been my purpose, since I have been placed in my present position, to make no speeches. . . . I appear upon the ground here at this time only for the purpose of affording myself the best opportunity of seeing you, and enabling you to see me. . . . You will kindly let me be silent." He escaped on horseback while the crowd besieged the carriage he was expected to leave in.

"In the evening there was a magnificent display of torch-lights and fire-works generally. The streets were all ablaze with light and enthusiasm." The various Wide Awake delegations, more than 2,000 men, assembled at the Wigwam at dusk and formed in marching order. "The long procession began to move, and for more than an hour it presented the appearance of the onward march of a vast conflagration. As far as the eye could reach, to the north and to the south, to the east and to the west, a seemingly interminable line of flame stretched out its moving length." Buildings were decorated with transparencies, flags, mottoes, and lights, and these masses of Republicans, intoxicated with politics (among other things) were diverted with another string of speeches. A half-dozen orators spoke in the Wigwam, and outside there was speaking from three stands, not forgetting "a calm and argumentative speech of great length" delivered in the State House.

All this enthusiasm, affirmed the *Journal* in an inspired moment, was the result of the great moral issue at stake in the campaign. "Never . . . have the highways and by-ways of any town been so completely surcharged with the electric current which flows from the consciousness of being embraced in the meaning of that prayer which says, 'May God speed the right.' Hearts beating to the sublime cadence of 'freedom for the oppressed,' backed by tongues and lungs that made the very heavens echo with the glad acclaims of victory, rendered the scene one sublime, magnificent spectacle of triumph and joy."[52]

Ratification over, both parties began to stage innumerable rallies, ranging from small meetings in Wigwams and on street corners to the huge demonstrations like those given to Douglas and Seward at their appearance in Chicago. To tell the full story of these rallies would require hundreds of pages, for "there were speakers *galore,* and no locality was neglected—every 'nook and corner' was supplied with one or more speakers, who almost always found interested hearers in plenty."[53]

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[52] *Illinois State Journal,* Aug. 9.

[53] C. B. Johnson, "The Presidential Campaign of 1860," *Transactions,* Ill. State Hist. Soc., 1927, 117.

When the height of the campaign was reached "governors, senators, and members of Congress of both parties took the stump and for the last two months business was almost suspended, the people hastening to and fro to hear stirring speeches and to march in mile-long processions. It was a general political intoxication; the Republicans, however, everywhere surpassing their opponents in earnestness and enthusiasm."[54] Carl Schurz thought[55] that "it looked as if people, especially in the smaller cities and towns and the country districts, had little else to do than to attend meetings, listen to speeches, march in processions, and carry torches after night-fall." Politicians dropped everything else and devoted their entire energy to electing their ticket.[56] Such a canvass was made possible by work so hard that it broke men down. Carl Schurz, traveling over the North and speaking every day, sometimes twice, found it necessary to reassure his wife, "As soon as I feel that the work is too heavy and is endangering my health I shall instantly stop. Rely upon that." Two days later he wrote:[57]

> The affair in Quincy was glorious: torchlight procession, music, serenade, etc. I was almost cheered, drummed and trumpeted to deafness. Yesterday I begged to be left alone and actually did have a quiet morning. But when I got ready to leave in the afternoon, the music and crowd were again on hand and I was literally drummed and trumpeted out of town. That is terrible.

In September he did have to take two weeks off for recuperation.[58]

No political gathering would have been complete without campaign songs, which the nation's poetasters, and a few of its poets, began composing as soon as they knew what names to put in. The number of ballads was considerably less than the number of speeches, but hundreds were written and published. One of the first to appear came from the pen of young Edmund Clarence Stedman, who became a noted poet.[59]

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[54] Koerner, *Memoirs*, II, 101.
[55] *Reminiscences*, II, 193.
[56] Morehouse, *Life of Fell*, 62.
[57] J. Schafer (ed.), *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz*, 214.
[58] *Reminiscences*, II, 193.
[59] Oldroyd, 150-151.

HONEST ABE OF THE WEST

Air—"Star Spangled Banner"

O, hark! from the pine-crested hills of old Maine,
Where the splendor first falls from the wings of the morning,
And away in the West, over river and plain,
Rings out the grand anthem of Liberty's warning!
From green-rolling prairie it swells to the sea,
For the people have risen, victorious and free.
They have chosen their leaders, and bravest and best
Of them all is Old Abe, Honest Abe of the West!

Lo! see the bright scroll of the Future unfold!
Broad farms and fair cities shall crown our devotion—
Free Labor turn even the sand into gold,
And the links of her railway chain ocean to ocean;
Barks that float on the dark river waves
With a wealth never wrung from the sinews of slaves;
And the Chief, in whose rule all the land shall be blest,
Is our noble Old Abe, Honest Abe of the West!

Then on to the holy Republican strife!
And again, for a future as fair as the morning,
For the sake of that freedom more precious than life,
Ring out the grand anthem of Liberty's warning!
Lift the banner on high, while from mountain and plain,
The cheers of the people are sounded again;
Hurrah! for our cause—of all causes the best!
Hurrah! for Old Abe, Honest Abe of the West!

This was widely copied, read, and admired all over the North, and it was the one 1860 ballad which came closest to achieving literary merit, though it still has a long way to go to become poetry. But it was not the kind of ballad that appealed to campaign crowds, in spite of the tune around which it was written. Trained glee clubs sang it, but high-sounding generalities did not appeal to a mob of boisterous Republicans; rather they wanted something to make the Democrats look ridiculous.

A ballad after Republican hearts was "Old Abe's Preliminary Visit to the White House," a glee club or soloist singing the words while everybody joined in on the chorus.[60]

[60] W. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, 28-30.

Tune—"Tural-li-a"

There was one Old Abram lived out in the west,
Esteemed by his neighbors the wisest and best;
And if you will only but follow my ditty,
I'll tell you how he took a walk down to Washington City.

Chorus:

Sing tural, li ural, li ural, li a,
Sing tural, li ural, li ural, li a,
Sing tural, li ural, li ural, li a,
Sing tural, li ural, li ural, li a.

His home was in Springfield, out in Illinois,
Where he'd long been the pride of the men and the boys;
But he left his brown house without a sigh of regret,
For he knew that the people had a White one to let.

Chorus:

So Old Abe he trudged on to Washington, straight,
And he entered the White House through the avenue gate;
Old Buck and his cronies, some chaps from the south,
Sat around the East Room rather down in the mouth.

Chorus:

Old Abe seized the knocker and gave such a thump,
Buck thought the state ship had run into a stump,
He trembled all over, and turned deadly pale,
"That noise," says he, "must have been done with a rail."

Chorus:

"Run Lewis, run Jerry, and open the door,"
And the functionary nearly fell down on the floor;
"There is but one man who knocks that way, I'm blest,
And he is that 'Tarnal Old Abe of the West'."

Chorus:

Old Abe now impatient, did the knocking repeat,
Which made Old Buck jump right up onto his feet;
"I hope it ain't Abe," said Old Buck, pale and gray,
"For if it is, boys, there'll be the devil to pay."

Chorus:

At last, though reluctant, Buck opened the door,
And he found a chap waiting, six feet, three or four;
"I have come, my fine fellows," and Abe spoke to the ring,
"To give you fair notice to vacate next spring."

Chorus:

Said Old Buck ,"Will you please to walk in Mr. Lincoln,
The remarks you have made are something to think on;
I don't care a cuss for the country, that's flat,
But if you beat Douglas you can take my old hat."

Chorus:

Said Old Abe: "Mr. Buchanan, I've just come here to say
The democratic dog has had his day;
Both parties are useless, the country don't need 'em,
For one goes for slavery, and 'tother 'gainst freedom."

Chorus:

Said Old Buck: "Mr. Lincoln, your notions I think
Are extremely correct, let us all take a drink;
We've the best of 'J. B. Green Seal' and old sherry,
And I've no objections, just now, to be merry."

Chorus:

Said Old Abe: "As for drinking, please excuse me today,
And you and your crowd have it all your own way;
The people have trusted you longer'n they oughter,
And all that I ask is a glass of cold water."

Chorus:

"Cold water!" said Buck, "We have it, I think,
Although with our crowd it's not a favorite drink;
We partake of our tipple on its own native merits,
And we need something stronger to keep up our sperrits."

Chorus:

The cabinet, well frightened, searched the White House with a will,
But they couldn't find water put down on the bill;
Jerry Black made a report, that without any doubt,
The whiskey was plenty, but the water played out.

Chorus:

Of course, without whiskey the meeting was bum,
And they wished, more than ever, that Abe hadn't come;
So when Old Abe saw they had no more to say,
He took up his hat and wished them "Good day."

Chorus:

So Old Abe he returned to his home in the West,
Leaving Buck and his cabinet greatly depressed;
And if this part of my tale you'll remember,
I'll tell you the balance next sixth of November.

Chorus:

No Republican could fail to fall in love with a lively ballad giving Douglas a good panning like:[61]

[61] Oldroyd, 161-162.

POOR LITTLE DUG

(A New Nigger Song to an Old Nigger Tune)

Dere was a little man, and his name was Stevy Dug,
To de White House he longed for to go;
But he hadn't any votes through de whole of de Souf,
In de place where votes ought to grow.

Chorus:

So it ain't no use for to blow—
Dat little game of brag won't go;
He can't get de vote, 'case de tail ob his coat
Is hung just a little too low.

His legs dey was short, but his speeches dey was long,
And nuffin but hisself could he see;
His principles was weak, but his spirits dey was strong,
For a thirsty little soul was he.

Chorus:

He couldn't sleep nights for de nigger on de fence,
So his health it began for to fail;
And he suffered berry much from de 'fects of a ride
Dat he got on a Lincoln rail.

Chorus:

He shivered and he shook in de cold North blast,
And de wind from de Souf dat blew;
But de Locofoco ship hove him overboard at last,
So his friends had to all heave-to.

So it ain't no use for to blow—
Dat little game of brag won't go;
He can't get de vote, 'case de tail ob his coat
Is hung just a little too low.

A ballad admirably suited to be sung in unison by acres of people was one written around Stephen Collins Foster's melody, "Du Da," an air so brisk that it makes one want to dance to its lively time.[62]

"There's an old plow "hoss" whose name is "Dug,"
Du da, du da;
He's short and thick—a regular "plug,"
Du da, du da day.

[62] Oldroyd, 171-174.

Chorus:

We're bound to work all night,
We're bound to work all day;
I'll bet my money on the "Lincoln hoss,"
Who bets on Stephen A.?

The "little plug" has had his day,
Du da, du da;
He's out of the ring by all fair play,
du da, du da day.
We're bound . . . .

"Old Abraham's" a well bred nag,
Du da, du da;
His wind is sound—he'll never lag,
Du da, du da day.
We're bound . . . .

In '58 he tried his gait,
Du da, du da;
He trotted Douglas through the State,
Du da, du da day.
We're bound . . . .

In '60 now we're going to trot,
Du da, du da;
So "plank" your money on the spot,
Du da, du da day.
We're bound . . . .

The "Lincoln hoss" will never fail,
Du da, du da;
He will not shy at ditch or "rail,"
Du da, du da day.
We're bound . . . .

The "Little Dug" can never win,
du da, du da;
That Kansas job's too much for him,
Du da, du da day.
We're bound . . . .

His legs are weak, his mind unsound,
Du da, du da;
His "switch tail" is too near the ground,
Du da, du da day.

We're bound to work all night,
We're bound to work all day;
I'll bet my money on the "Lincoln hoss;"
Who bets on Stephen A.?

Its simple theme could be grasped with ease, and one can imagine the tremendous effect of thousands of voices making the welkin ring with rollicking melody.

The Douglasites were at a disadvantage, for the Republican party and its candidate had no record to jeer at. In lieu of something better they made fun of Lincoln's person.[63]

Tell us of his fight with Douglas—
How his spirit never quails;
Tell us of his manly bearing,
Of his skill in splitting rails;

Tell us he's a second Webster,
Or, if better, Henry Clay;
That he's full of a genial humor—
Placid as a summer day:

Tell us he resembles Jackson,
Save he wears a larger boot,
And is broader 'cross the shoulders,
And is taller by a foot:

Any lie you tell, we'll swallow—
Swallow any kind of mixture;
But, oh! don't, we beg and pray you—
Don't, for *God's sake,* show his *picture!*

Popular jingles were written around tunes which everybody knew like "Nellie Bly," "Yankee Doodle," "Auld Lang Syne," praising one party and candidate or deriding the other,[64] published in party newspapers and in booklets called campaign songsters which circulated over the country.[65] When Republican and Democratic stalwarts were attending the same rally (which was often done in the hope of breaking up the other party's meeting), and a song more scurrillous than usual was rendered, oftentimes a free-for-all scrap was stirred up.[66]

Perhaps the most popular song of the canvass was written around that immortal tune, "The Old Gray Mare."

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[63] J. M. Clary, *Our Nation's History and Song,* 347-348.
[64] J. W. Hutchinson (ed.), *Hutchinson's Republican Songster, passim.*
[65] Collection of Songsters in the Illinois State Hist. Society.
[66] McLean, "Hist. of McDonough Co.," 771.

Old Abe Lincoln came out of the wilderness,
Out of the wilderness, out of the wilderness,
Old Abe Lincoln came out of the wilderness,
Down in Illinois.

Ain't I glad I joined the Republicans,
Joined the Republicans, Joined the Republicans,
Ain't I glad I joined the Republicans,
Down in Illinois?

What force had Democratic arguments against the incessant repetition of "Ain't I glad I jined the Republicans?"

A feature of campaign technique almost as important as rallies and processions were pole raisings. In raising a pole, a crowd of partisans gathered, dug a hole, secured a long tree trunk, attached to its top a flag or a banner bearing names of candidates or mottoes, and amid enthusiastic shouts set the tall sapling upright and secured it—a task requiring a great deal of energy, but energy was the chief characteristic of 1860 technique. When a Republican pole had been raised, the Democrats were obliged to erect a higher one, after which the Republicans had to stand up another still higher. Some reached a height well over 100 feet. In every village several of these towering poles with their banners furnished the observer with another reminder that politics were pre-eminent in the land.[67] Erecting the pole was, however, only half the fight. Every standing pole was a challenge to members of the other party to sneak out some dark night and cut it down, to the extreme indignation of the losing party. Such an atrocity in Springfield caused the Journal to vociferate:[68]

On Monday night some miserable, infamous, low-flung, narrow-minded, ungodly, dirt-eating, cut-throat, hemp-deserving, deeply-dyed, double-distilled, concentrated miscreant of miscreants, sinned against all honor and decency by cutting and sawing down two or three Republican poles in this city. The deed was evidently done by some of the unwashed Democracy.

So it went until the parties took measures to protect their poles.[69]

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[67] Strawn, "Hist. of Livingston Co.," II, 664.
Cunningham, "Hist. of Champaign Co.," II, 790.
Illinois State Register, Aug. 3.
[68] *Illinois State Journal*, Aug. 8.
[69] McLean, "Hist. of McDonough Co.," 770.

A most attractive sort of rally was the barbecue. On the preceding day several beeves were roasted whole, muttons, turkeys, chickens, pigs, and sundry other delicacies assembled and prepared at the barbecue grounds, toward which next morning a typical campaign procession would move—miles of wagons and floats with flags, streamers, mottoes, singing, cheering, all the trappings of enthusiasm. At noon the thousands sat down to a long table loaded with food. The afternoon was filled with speeches, and impromptu rallies were held in the evening in town before the political day could be called ended.[70]

What was the nature of these political speeches with which Illinoisans were deluged from June to November 6? Not many have survived, naturally; only the best have been preserved because one speech was only a drop in a racing stream. According to the intellectual young journalist Henry Villard, "while a high order of popular oratory was rare, there was a great deal of very good speaking."[71] At the usual rally the crowd listened to one or two featured speakers, national or state leaders, then were entertained by local oratorical lights, —a combination which ran the oratorical gamut from very good to very bad. The Lincoln-Douglas debates themselves exhibit the wide range of characteristics common to public political discussions. Douglas was admittedly the best debater in the country, and Lincoln was the only man able to match him.[72] Their debates in 1858 were recognized as the preëminent intellectual battle of the whole slavery controversy, and at times Lincoln and Douglas delivered arguments wholly admirable in reasoning and presentation, but at times their struggle was marred by crimination and recrimination, personalities and acrimony.[73] The garden variety of campaign speech could not therefore have been other than loud, violent, flamboyant to the last degree.[74]

The fireworks variety of speech went over big with crowds of partisans, but it must not be forgotten that many speeches

[70] *The Rail Splitter*, Aug. 25.
Cunningham, *Hist. of Champaign Co.*, II, 790.
[71] H. Villard, *Memoirs*, I, 138.
[72] Rhodes, II, 279 and 296.
[73] Johnson, *Douglas*, 380-387.
[74] *The Rail Splitter*, July 21, contains a fine example.

were delivered which appealed to the intellect. Seward was on the stump, addressing to great crowds words which Rhodes calls "the most remarkable stump-speeches ever delivered in this country."[75] Some speeches of party leaders were important enough to be circulated as campaign documents. They were no worse than partisan speeches of party leaders have always been—able and well-knit defences of party doctrine and condemnation of opponents, requiring considerable research in gathering the historical facts presented. Though the facts were interpreted from an unshakably partisan point of view, such are the ways of politics.[76] And every spellbinder, no matter how mediocre, was certain of a crowd, for daily newspapers reached only a very few, and a people caring more about politics than anything else was obliged to satisfy the appetite for political news by listening to the batteries of speakers. One participant recalls having heard Senator Trumbull and Dick Yates deliver speeches at an early rally, subsequently hearing them present the same speeches at two other rallies, and each time he enjoyed them![77]

What chance had arguments amid such a superabundance of enthusiasm? None, as had been demonstrated in 1840 when a party with a record, a program, and an excellent candidate, was beaten by a party that had neither record, program, nor outstanding candidate, but which commanded enthusiasm without end. Nevertheless there were arguments in plenty. They flowed in endless profusion from stump speakers; and party newspapers were full of reasons why no right-thinking man should vote for the opposing candidates. The way of a neutral paper was hard; as one said, "It is a poor chance for a neutral paper to interest its readers in times like this. Politics seem to enter into everything, and very little attention is now paid to anything unless it be mixed up in some way with the political movements of the day."[78]

The records of Lincoln and Douglas were subjected to minute scrutiny by members of the opposing party, who

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[75] Rhodes, II, 451.

[76] *Speeches on Politics and Government . . . 1856-1860.* Anonymous compilation in the Illinois State Historical Library, Document 8. Speech of Carl Schurz in Fite, *Pres. Cam. of 1860,* 244-276.

[77] Johnson, "Pres. Cam. of 1860", 119-120.

[78] Urbana *Clarion,* Sept. 1.

hoped to find skeletons reposing in some dark corner, which if brought to the light might chase votes away. Results were disappointing to the Democratic historians of Lincoln. They could find nothing in his short public career useful for political capital but the fact that he had opposed the Mexican War. The old charge was brought out that Congressman Lincoln, the traitor, had voted against war supplies.[79] But that argument was thin and easily refuted, so his opponents insisted that Lincoln was not fit to be President. They tried to go the pioneer symbol of the Railsplitter one better and make voters believe that Lincoln was one of those rough, tough frontier characters picturesquely called "half-horse, half-alligator men," that his only virtue consisted in having mauled rails.[80] A final answer to such arguments were the debates with Douglas, which had been in book form since March. Sober judgment, reading the book, told that Lincoln had beaten Douglas at his own game,[81] to which the Democrats replied that Lincoln was not the author of the speeches he delivered, but merely the mouthpiece of men of greater ability like Judd and David Davis.[82] So it went with most arguments; opinions which had absolutely no foundation in fact were given out as gospel truth.

The long record of Douglas furnished Republicans with ammunition in plenty. From June to election day he was bombarded with charges of inconsistency and moral obtuseness on the slavery question. He had, averred the Republicans, favored the Wilmot Proviso, but had later stolen the doctrine of popular sovereignty from Lewis Cass.[83] Breckinridge was preferable to Douglas because "AN OPEN ENEMY IS BETTER THAN A CONCEALED FOE,"[84] and Douglas was a larger slaveholder than Breckinridge,[85] not forgetting that he was a Catholic and that "Catholicism and Republicanism are as plainly incompatible as oil and water."[86] One sheet

[79] J. D. Ellington to Trumbull, Trumbull MSS.
[80] *Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, 1860 ed., flyleaf advertising campaign biography by W. D. Howells.
[81] Rhodes, II, 299.
[82] Lamon, 420.
[83] Rockford *Republican*, June 7.
[84] Canton *Register*, July 3.
[85] *Ibid.*, July 10.
[86] Chicago *Press & Tribune*, July 17.

pointed out seven items of inconsistency in the position of the man who falsely proposed "to stand like a guardian angel of the country between Abolitionism and Disunion."[87] Another passed judgment on the vacillations of the Little Giant:[88]

In the light of record Douglas stands convicted before the people as a political traitor, a truckler to both the North and South, a man who has declared in the most public manner the most opposite opinions and sentiments, and who has given his entire strength at different times both in favor of and in opposition to the institution of slavery. At the present moment he stands before the public in an attitude remarkably in accordance with his character as exhibited in this record; with a two-faced, deceitful platform, pro-slavery at heart, and associated with one of the most bitter and violent of living fire-eaters. Trying to bait his hook at the same time for northern and southern fish, he is, as ever before, a politician and not a statesman, a demagogue and not a patriot.

In another effort to catch the old Whig vote someone remembered that Douglas had in 1844 called Henry Clay "AN OLD BLACK HEARTED TRAITOR,—the first American statesman who ever attempted to *sell his country for British gold.*" This was widely copied by the Republican press,[89] as was the common practice when a good hit was put over.

A few weeks before election day the Republican press pounced with joy upon a campaign lie which had been fabricated in New Orleans. A letter from Douglas to John Calhoun, the existence of which was vouched for by "dozens of reliable witnesses," was said to undeniably establish the fact that Douglas wrote the Lecompton Constitution,[90] then turned against it to save himself when it proved to be so overwhelmingly unpopular.[91] Such were the tactics of the Lincolnite journalists in trying to rob Douglas of the credit for having courageously fought Lecomptonism and the proslavery administration in the interests of free-soil.

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[87] Canton *Register,* July 24.
[88] *Central Illinois Gazette,* July 25.
[89] Chicago *Press & Tribune,* Aug. 16.
Illinois State Journal, Sept. 7.
[90] Canton *Register,* October 16.
[91] Aurora *Beacon,* Oct. 18. Belleville *Advocate,* Oct. 26. Rockford *Register,* Oct 27.

Democratic newspapers did their best to make the name Republican synonymous with disunion. The *Register* painted the horrors which would follow a freeing of the slaves and insinuated that the Republicans were trying to do just that.[92] "Abolition Outright" was the interpretation given a speech made in German by Gustave Koerner, reporting him as saying that abolition was the object of the Republican party.[93] The Republican press replied with contempt to the efforts to stir up disunion ghosts: "Our friends may now expect a concerted howl of disunion from Texas to Maine. This is the only card left to our adversaries, and they will assuredly play it with a desperate energy." However much howling is done, "there will be no disunion."[94]

Two more points of extended attack and counter-attack turned upon efforts toward coalition and fusion between the two major parties and small factions,[95] and an insistence that all was over in the campaign except the voting and shouting. Republican claims of victory were answered by figures showing "Lincoln's Election An Impossibility."[96]

Campaign biographies of Lincoln and Douglas were published, to make money for the publishers and to show that each man was quite worthy of the Presidency. Most of them were wholly commercial,[97] but two had a political value. Sheahan's *Life of Stephen A. Douglas,* published previous to the Charleston Convention,[98] is a work of historical worth. The most powerful and important biography of the canvass was the pamphlet life of Lincoln by John Locke Scripps of the *Tribune,* written from material furnished mainly by Lincoln himself.[99] On July 14 the *Tribune* announced:

We have issued a campaign Biography of the Republican standard bearer, in a style so compact, and cheap, that with suitable effort on the part of clubs, canvassers, and local com-

[92] *Illinois State Register,* June 8.
[93] *Ibid.,* June 27.
[94] Chicago *Press & Tribune,* Oct. 11.
[95] *Illinois State Journal,* July 21, Oct. 2. Belleville *Advocate,* July 27, Aug. 24. Quincy *Whig,* Aug. 20.
[96] *Illinois State Journal,* July 18, Oct 12. Ottawa *Free Trader,* Oct. 5.
[97] W. E. Barton, "The Lincoln of the Biographers," *Transactions,* Ill. State Hist. Soc., 1929, 63-69.
[98] Johnson, *Douglas,* 416.
[99] M. L. Houser (annotator), *John Locke Scripps' 1860 Campaign Life of Abraham Lincoln,* 5.

mittees, it may reach every voter in the Northwest before the campaign is on. . . . It has been prepared with great care, and may be considered a reliable and authentic narrative of the life of Abraham Lincoln, embracing also the substance of the debates with Mr. Douglas in 1858, and a complete history of that remarkable campaign. It has been the purpose of the writer to make it *the* document of the times. A copy should be placed in the hands of every man in the Northwest who can read the English language.

The price of this 32-page booklet, issued by the *Tribune* as "Campaign Document No. 1," was five cents a copy, forty cents a dozen, $3.50 a hundred or $20.00 a thousand. It far outsold all other Lives. Though the exact number is unknown, probably several hundred thousand were in circulation.[100]

Numerous campaign newspapers (apparently all were Republican sheets) appeared early in the campaign, some of them having a very brief existence. But one, *The Rail Splitter,* expanded until it became the outstanding campaign paper of the Northwest. Established in Chicago by one Dr. Leib, who had been a Buchanan man in 1856,[101] *The Rail Splitter* went vigorously to work for the Republican cause, searching tirelessly for anything that would work for Lincoln and Hamlin and against their opponents.[102] For only fifty cents loyal Republicans were supplied every Saturday during the campaign from June 23 on with four large pages of spicy reading, showing the Democrats as drunkards and blackguards, picturing all Republicans as paragons. Anything making the opponents look ridiculous was welcome — cartoons, campaign songs, jokes, quips and puns, violently partisan speeches and editorials, accounts of glorious Republican rallies contrasted with Democratic fizzles.

"All's fair in politics," was the watchword never lost sight of by efficient politicians. It made the great game all the more interesting. Judd's campaign slogan was "Turn on the beer, boys."[103] Rough and ready gangs made their influence felt at many a rally, heckling and interrupting the

[100] *Ibid.,* 6.
[101] *Central Illinois Gazette,* June 6.
[102] *The Rail Splitter,* July 21-Oct. 27, *passim.*
[103] Sandburg, II, 352.

speakers, cheering the opposition, trying to start a fight and break up the meeting.[104]

When Republicans carried the battle into Egypt things happened, for the Democrats were disputing every inch of ground with the advancing Republicans. In Cairo a large band of Democrats on a gay Saturday night (all campaign Saturday nights were that) burned a local Republican in effigy, then marched into a crowd which was listening to a "long-winded Republican harangue." Only a few in the crowd were railsplitters, and cheers for Douglas and Bell frequently interrupted the speaker, who was finally driven from the platform by a shower of eggs, one of which caught him squarely in the face, whereupon the well-behaved crowd resolved unanimously that the act was "undemocratic and illiberal" and "an outrage."[105]

Dick Yates had been invited as the featured speaker at a Shawneetown Republican barbecue, held to offset a great Democratic barbecue of a week before. The Democrats feared Yates' power on the stump, and a few of "the boys" decided that the best way out would be to kidnap him. The plotters stationed themselves along the road Yates would be travelling the night before the barbecue, but unfortunately fell asleep just as the unsuspecting orator came along, and next day Yates appeared, ready to speak. A huge crowd was on hand, composed mainly of Democrats, mischief-bent. As Yates took his seat on the stand "a series of hideous groans rent the air. But when the speaker was formally introduced the noise and confusion knew no bounds." Yates was unable to make himself heard until a Democrat shamed his comrades into silence.[106]

In Cook County some Democrats posing as Republicans scattered an anonymous circular a few days before election, casting aspersions upon the character of the Republican candidate for sheriff, and the Republicans replied with a broadside carrying testimonials, saying:[107]

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[104] Browning, *Diary*, I, 423. Koerner, *Memoirs*, II, 100. C. B. Johonson, *Illinois in the Fifties*, 142.

[105] Cairo *City Gazette*, July 26.

[106] D. W. Lusk, *Politics and Politicians of Illinois*, 107-108.

[107] Broadside "To the Republican Voters of Cook Co.," in possession of the author.

Our opponents, with certain defeat staring them in their faces, resort to all and every means in order to try to stem the tide of public opinion, which threatens to overwhelm them at the approaching election. No subterfuge is mean enough, no ruse is held to be too dishonest, which they do not resort to. Wolves in sheep's clothing, they approach the voters of Cook County in the guise of pretended Republicans, in order to sow the seeds of dissension into the ranks of a party which is marching on to victory, and which, as they well know, can only be defeated by an internal feud.

Money was scarce in 1860,[108] enthusiasm rather than dollars being the important force. But for one phase of campaign technique money was a necessity. Votes had to be bought, and during the closing weeks of the canvass both parties were busy preparing to send "laborers" into the doubtful districts of Egypt, workers whose employment ended abruptly after November 6.[109]

Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana elected state officers on October 9, and the results in these "October States" were carefully watched as indications of what would happen in November. Reports came that the Republicans had won in all three States, setting off bedlams of celebration. In the Peoria Wigwam, when the news was read, "shouts of applause rent the air, horns were blown, hats were hurled towards the rafters of the great building, hand clasped hand, and in many cases tears of joy ran down the faces of stalwart men." A formal evening demonstration two days later confirmed the returns and sent Wide Awakes marching in lighted procession, while glee clubs sang songs in the streets.[110]

Republicans now considered the election of Lincoln certain, and redoubled their efforts. Wigwams were filled with crowds and speeches almost every night as election day approached.[111]

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[108] Dittenhoefer, *op. cit.*, 36. Judd to Trumbull, Oct. 18, Trumbull MSS.

[109] Canton *Register*, Oct. 11, Oct. 30. Chicago *Democrat*, Oct. 19. *Central Illinois Gazette*, Oct. 24. *Illinois State Journal*, Oct. 31. *Illinois State Register*, Nov. 12. G. M. Hollenbeck in "Hist. of Kendall Co.," in Bateman & Selby, *Hist. Ency. of Ill. and Hist. of Kendall Co.*, II, 735.

[110] McCulloch, "Hist. of Peoria Co.", II, 157.

[111] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

ELECTION DAY AND AFTER

Traditionally, election day brought snow or rain,[1] but no inclement weather could keep voters away from the polls.[2] By good fortune the great day to which every Illinoisan had been looking for six months dawned cloudless, warm and bright[3]—"just the kind of a day for the Democrats to lose," said a happy Lincolnite.[4] Morning papers were loaded with political excitement.

Go to the polls early, and as soon as you have voted pull off your coat and work until the polls are closed.

BOYS! WE ARE GOING
TO CARRY THE COUNTY

All that is necessary for the Republicans to do in order to carry this county is to

WORK! WORK!! WORK!!![5]

When the polls opened long lines were waiting, each early arrival intent on casting his own ballot then working all day to make certain that every voter who would vote "right" should exercise "the glorious privilege."[6] All over Illinois the election was the thing. What else mattered? The state and the nation "gave itself up to election, business languished and was laid over."[7]

"Everything going quietly," wrote Browning in Quincy,[8] and in Chicago it was "the most quiet election ever known."[9] Remarkable indeed that in the crowds which the climax of the campaign brought to the polling places "there were no drunken men, no brawlers, only a moderate amount of cheering and vociferation, less street argumentation than we have ever seen before. . . . Everybody seemed to feel that his neighbor had made his mind up and that it was 'no use talking' any more."[10] Loyal men who voted early were hard at work. "There was

[1] Chicago *Tribune*, Nov. 7.
[2] J. Bonham, *Fifty Years' Recollections*, 527.
[3] Johnson, *Illinois in the Fifties*, 174. Chicago *Tribune*, Nov. 7.
[4] Johnson, *Illinois in the Fifties*, 174.
[5] *Illinois State Journal*, Nov. 6.
[6] Bonham, 527.
[7] Chicago *Tribune*, Nov. 7.
[8] *Diary*, I, 434.
[9] Chicago *Tribune*, Nov. 7.
[10] *Ibid.*

'a hurrying to and fro', and every voter was sought out and urged to go to the polls. The sick, the halt, lame and blind, swelled the long lines of voters . . . , made comfortable by wrappings and coverings, placed in carriages and vehicles, and kind arms supported them to and from the place of voting."[11]

"Vote early and often" was the injunction often given and sometimes carried out. Illinois had no registry law in 1860,[12] and to vote an individual had only to show up at the polls and swear in his vote, satisfying election clerks and challengers that he was voting legally. Thus it was fairly easy to vote several times, and the danger of arrest for fraudulent voting was very slim.[13] For weeks party newspapers had been throwing back and forth charges and countercharges of preparations for huge importations.

They [the Democracy] have already begun the work of importing their men from their strongholds into the doubtful districts, where, by the defect in the statutes, they will be sure to vote.[14]

The imported voters floated in according to their instructions, voted, and floated out. Challengers and arrests held no fears for them. There was not a chance in a thousand of being caught, for the forces of law were even less able to prevent organized illegal voting than they are to curb bootlegging today. Both parties bowed to the hard necessities of political warfare, Democrats hoping to carry Egypt and the legislature at all cost, Republicans because they had to fight fire with fire.

All day voters came; often they waited in line for hours. The *Tribune* reporter "saw them waiting, rods away from the polls window, patient and quiet, determined to 'drop that little ballot,' and these, very many of them, men who often have allowed elections to pass without casting a vote, all these were out yesterday."[15] Shameless Democrats of Chicago, charged the Republicans, had printed counterfeit ballots hoping to make many Lincolnites throw away their votes. But the Wide

[11] Bonham, 527.
[12] Koerner, *Memoirs*, II, 103.
[13] *Illinois State Journal*, Dec. 5.
[14] Chicago *Press & Tribune*, Sept. 29.
[15] Chicago *Tribune*, Nov. 7.

Awakes were on the job, moving along the lines all day and making sure that Lincoln ballots were genuine.

Evening came, and groups formed to watch the returns come in. Telegraph offices were crowded with politicians.[16] Confident Republicans gathered in halls and groups to experience the supreme thrill—the announcement of victory. For the Democrats there was little hope of spending the night in jubilee. Local returns came first, arriving early in the evening. Democrats, if they found them in their favor, knowing that they would have no other opportunity to celebrate, put on their show. In Quincy, "our Douglas brethren, on getting the returns from the city, at once went in for fun. . . . built a bonfire, . . . formed in grand procession behind a fife and drum, and put off about town, each man shouting and yelling on his own hook."[17]

Republican hilarity was more enduring. In Springfield they "made their headquarters at the Hall of the House of Representatives . . . , and had a high old time over the returns. The Hall was packed during the whole evening, and as the different dispatches were received and read, such cheers and yells of victory as they sent up made the whole town echo again and again. We never saw a jollier or happier crowd, unless we except another of Republican ladies, who assembled at Watson's Saloon. There bountiful refreshments were provided and partaken of, during the evening, by large numbers."[18] Between dispatches there were speeches, cheers, songs, refreshments hard and soft, and infinite fervor. Reports arrived as the hours passed showing that Lincoln had carried the West.[19] News from New York was anxiously awaited.

It was late that night when Lyman Trumbull and Henry McPike arrived in Springfield. McPike reminisces: "Out in front of the old state capitol local orators were addressing the people, and from time to time returns were read out." Going upstairs, Trumbull and McPike found Lincoln, Jesse Dubois, and Edward Baker, waiting for returns from New York. "If we get New York, that settles it." When the dispatch came to

[16] Koerner, *Memoirs*, II, 102.
[17] Quincy *Whig*, Nov. 7.
[18] *Illinois State Journal*, Nov. 7.
[19] Koerner, II, 102.

Baker he was so excited that he could not read clearly. "Baker began again and read out the announcement that Lincoln had carried New York.

"Dubois jumped to his feet. 'Hey,' he shouted, and they began singing as loud as he could [sic] a campaign song, 'Ain't You Glad You Jined the Republicans?'

"Lincoln got up and Trumbull and the rest of us. We were all excited. There were hurried congratulations. Suddenly old Jesse grabbed the dispatch . . . out of Ed. Baker's hands and started for the door. We followed, . . . Lincoln last. The staircase was narrow and steep. We went down it still on the run. Dubois rushed across the street toward the meeting, so out of breath he couldn't speak plain. All he could say was 'Spetch. Spetch.' He was going over with the news to the meeting." Lincoln, coolest of the lot, went home to tell his wife the news. "Across the street 10,000 crazy people were shouting, throwing up their hats, clapping and kicking one another. They had just heard the dispatch. . . . You never saw such a sight."[20]

By midnight the news of the Railsplitter's victory was known in every community having telegraph service,[21] and the revelry which followed can be imagined but not described. "It seemed as if Bedlam had been let loose, . . . the Republicans proceeded 'to paint the town red' . . . . For wild enthusiasm the like of this scene has never, before or since, been seen at Peoria."[22] There were tumultuous nocturnal processions through the streets behind Wide Awakes and bands, free liquor for all, rejoicing and jubilation that was more fun than reading another's mail. There was little sleep for anyone, what with all the racket, until the early hours of the morning, and hundreds were in the streets all night, carousing, gossiping, seeking the latest election news.[23]

There was left next morning more enthusiasm than Republicans could hold, and the whole of Wednesday was given

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[20] Henry McPike in the Bloomington *Bulletin*, Dec. 31, 1908, clipped in W. N. McChesney (comp. and ed.), *The Lincoln Centenary, 1809-1909*, II, 118-119. Forty volumes of newspaper clippings in the Chicago Historical Society.

[21] Koerner, II, 103. Chicago *Tribune*, Nov. 7.

[22] McCulloch, "Hist. of Peoria Co.", II, 158.

[23] Chicago *Tribune*, Nov. 8.

up to celebration. "Many thousand dollars changed hands since Tuesday," said Thursday's *Tribune*. "Hats sufficient to cover . . . 'a sea of heads,' boots for an army of wearers, clothes, watches, and a wide range of articles of personal property, afloat on the result, have drifted securely into Republican hands."[24] Crowds came together in the many Wigwams, "congratulatory speeches were made and songs sung amid every conceivable demonstration of joy."[25] "From early in the morning until late at night the streets were thronged with Republicans, eager to hear the confirmation and swelling of the previous day's triumph." Evening brought long parades of Wide Awakes, fireworks, salutes, bonfires on hundreds of corners,—all the manifestations of Republican emotions flared once more.[26]

Then "when the bonfires had burned low, and all the Roman candles" and rockets had been fired, "and all the Republicans were hoarse with shouting, and the Wide Awakes weary with their pageant, a not very late hour of the night saw silence and darkness brood over a thoroughly wearied city, and all its citizens, irrespective of party, drawing satisfaction from the one common source that it was 'all over at last' . . . So ends the Presidential election of 1860."[27]

Now the great campaign was over. War came on, the ordeal through which the Railsplitter was to pass and reach the lofty achievement foreshadowed in Emily Dickinson's lines:

"We never know how high we are
Till we are called to rise;
And then, if we are true to plan,
Our statures touch the skies."

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[24] *Ibid.*
[25] McCulloch, II, 158.
[26] Chicago *Tribune*, Nov. 8.
[27] *Ibid.*

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CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I

Name and Objects

Section 1. The name of this Society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

Section 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II

Officers of the Society—Their Election and Duties

Section 1. The management of the affairs of this Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors of which Board the president of the society shall be ex-officio a member.

Section 2. There shall be a President and as many Vice-Presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The Board of Directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

Section 3. The Directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

Section 4. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:—

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal, in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled an Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution, for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

Section 5. Vacancies in the Board of Directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

Section 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither president nor vice-president shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a president pro-tempore.

Section 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the Board of Directors. The treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the Board of Directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the Board

of Directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said Board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes, to-wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding and Honorary.

Section 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of an initiation fee of not less than $2; and the payment thereafter of annual dues of not less than $2 as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

Section 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may, upon payment of twenty-five dollars, be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

Section 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archaeological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the Society who shall during the period of his appointment be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

Section 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

Section 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

Section 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

ARTICLE IV

Meetings and Quorum

Section 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the Board of Directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or any two members of the Board.

Section 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V

Amendments

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting; Provided that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

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